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OCTOBER 1959

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COVER—The O. Max Gardner Memorial Student Center on the Gardner-Webb College Campus at Boiling Springs was erected in memory of the North Carolina Governor (1929-1933) who was principal benefactor of the college. The Baptist institution opened as a high school in 1907, became a junior college in 1928, and has 550 students at present. For an article on the writing of a college history, see pages 466-472.

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THE THEATER IN ASHEVILLE FROM 1879 TO 1931

By DONALD J. RULFS*

In the late 1870's most amateur and professional entertainment in Asheville was offered in a hall on the third floor of the Courthouse on Pack Square. For example, the *Asheville North Carolina Citizen* for July 25, 1878, announced that on July 26 there would be a "concerte musicale" at the Courthouse by the ladies and gentlemen of the Baptist Church, and the August 22 issue of the paper for the same year stated that Professor Denck, a professional pianist and improvisator, would give a concert at the Courthouse on August 22.

The earliest reference in the press to the first opera house in Asheville appeared in the "Local" column of the *North Carolina Citizen* for April 17, 1879:

We are pleased to know that the proper steps have been taken to have a first-class theatre in our midst. The third floor of the Court-House building has been leased for four years by Messrs. T. L. Clayton, A. B. Chase, A. Rankin, William C. Carmichael, J. H. Lee and N. W. Girdwood, who will at once proceed to fit it up in a handsome style, thorough attention being paid to all the requirements of both audience and performers. Work is already progressing in the fitting up of the rooms, and the same will be ready some time next month.

Although the Opera House was not formally opened until June, the well known Thorne Comedy Company performed in the theater on April 21, 1879, with *Kathleen Mavourneen*

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and on April 23 with *Rip Van Winkle*.¹ The editor of the *North Carolina Citizen* commented on April 24, 1879, as follows in connection with these productions: "It is probable Mr. Thorne will remain in Asheville during the summer, with a view of organizing here for the next winter, giving occasional entertainments during the summer season. On May 6 and 7 the Thorne Company again presented two pre-opening performances with *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* and *Rip Van Winkle*.² Then the new Opera House was formally opened on Tuesday, June 3, 1879, with *Fanchon the Cricket*. Before the performance Miss Bonnie Meyers of the Thorne Company made a dedicatory speech.³ The reporter for the *North Carolina Citizen* of June 5 found the scenery, painted by the members of the company, to be "decidedly handsome" and ". . . together with the handsome and well arranged stage, the beautiful chandelier, the substantial seats and the general appearance of the hall, not only reflects credit upon the management, but gives Asheville one of the most handsome opera rooms in the State."

Despite the auspicious opening of the Opera House, the Thorne Company gave only four additional performances through July 18 and did not return the following winter. The *North Carolina Citizen* for October 30, 1879, reported an item from the *Durham Recorder* of October 23 to the effect that the Thorne Company had been in Hillsboro during the past week, and the *Citizen* for January 15, 1880, stated that the Thorne troupe had been playing in Tarboro and New Bern. There was no further professional entertainment in the Asheville Opera House for almost two years, and there were only two amateur performances, a concert by the Methodist Church choir on February 10, 1880, and a concert by the Asheville Silver Cornet Band and local singers on April 29, 1880.

Although the first passenger train arrived in Asheville on October 3, 1880, over the Western North Carolina Railroad from Salisbury,⁴ the lessees of the Opera House must have

¹ *North Carolina Citizen* (Asheville), April 24, 1879, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Citizen*.

² *North Carolina Citizen*, May 8, 1879.

³ *North Carolina Citizen*, June 5, 1879.

⁴ *North Carolina Citizen*, October 7, 1880.

soon realized that Asheville was still too isolated and too small to support full seasons of entertainment. The *Tenth Census of the United States* in 1880 reported the population of Asheville to be 2,616. Consequently professional entertainers appeared rather infrequently at the Opera House, but those who did have engagements were apparently well supported. The first of these was Blind Tom, the popular Negro pianist, who played for matinee and evening performances on May 28, 1881, to very large audiences.⁵ He was followed on August 11 of the same year by Helen Morris Lewis with readings from drama and poetry, and by a panorama called "The Apocalyptic Vision of St. John on the Isle of Patmos" on August 25.

From 1882 through 1887 there were only one or two performances a year at the Opera House, except for 1886 when there was none. In 1882, Professor and Mrs. Fred Page, blind singers, appeared on July 27; in 1883, Henry Osburn gave Shakespearean readings on June 29; in 1884, Edouard Remenyi, violinist, played on February 28, and the Kittie Rhoades Dramatic Company offered a week of stock plays during Fair Week, beginning September 29; in 1885 there was a concert by the Asheville Cornet Band on September 7; and in 1887 the local dramatic club, the Thespians, presented plays on April 11 and July 5. There were no performances in 1888.

The *Eleventh Census of the United States* for 1890 reported the population of Asheville to be 10,235, and the effect upon theatrical entertainment was soon apparent. Beginning early in 1889, performances at the Opera House noticeably increased as there were fourteen productions between February 4 and April 11. Some of the more outstanding of these were Bell's Royal Marionettes on February 4; Marie Prescott and R. D. McLean in *Virginus* and *As You Like It* on February 13 and 14; William Clifton and Marie Hilforde in the historical play *Theodora* on February 21 and 22; Leonard Grover's comedy, *Lost in New York*, on February 25; and the Templeton Opera Company with *The Mascot*, *The Mikado*, and *Olivette* on April 9-11. The performance of *Olivette* was

⁵ *Asheville Citizen*, June 2, 1881.

the last production in the original Asheville Opera House on the third floor of the Courthouse.

The second theater in Asheville was the Grand Opera House, located on the second, third, and fourth floors of the building at 41 and 43 Patton Avenue. The theater was constructed by Mrs. J. C. Spears at a cost of \$60,000 with E. W. Burckholder of Asheville as architect.⁶ The exterior dimensions were a frontage of 80 feet and a depth of 350 feet.⁷ The interior contained a stage 39 feet by 51 feet; a proscenium opening 24 feet by 30 feet; a seating capacity of nearly 1,200; four boxes; 300 gas and electric lights; and a center chandelier of hammered brass with 150 additional lights.⁸ The theater had a balcony with a curved rail and a gallery.⁹ The ceiling was decorated with elaborate fresco work by F. A. Grace of Detroit and contained four oil portraits of classical composers.¹⁰ The theater was leased by the Asheville Grand Opera House Company, which consisted of the following incorporators: Elliot Hazzard, T. W. Patton, C. D. Blanton, J. E. Rankin, D. C. Waddell, M. E. Carter, T. S. Morrison, R. R. Rawls, W. E. Breese, C. T. Rawls, and G. S. Powell.¹¹ The Grand Opera House was opened on September 27, 1889, with Agnes Herndon in *La Belle Marie; or, A Woman's Vengeance*. There was a large audience, and the reviewer for the *Daily Citizen* of September 28 stated, "The play itself was all that had been claimed for it, and the story of wrong and retribution was well told in the lines spoken with force and verve by Miss Herndon in the title role." The costumes and settings were also praised.

The season 1890-1891 witnessed the Grand Opera House in full operation with a total of fifty-nine performances. Among the outstanding plays offered were Charles W. Chase's *Uncle's Darling* on October 3 and 4 starring Hettie Bernard Chase; Milton Nobles in his own *Love and Law* on

⁶ Harry W. Futenweider, *Asheville City Directory and Business Reflex*, 1890 (Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans, and Bogswell Co., 1890), 91-92, hereinafter cited as Futenweider *Asheville City Directory* 1890; *Asheville Times*, April 7, 1929.

⁷ *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 25, 1889.

⁸ Futenweider, *Asheville City Directory*, 1890, 91-92.

⁹ *Asheville Daily Times*, April 7, 1929.

¹⁰ Futenweider, *Asheville City Directory*, 1890, 91-92.

¹¹ *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 25, 1889.

October 15; Patti Rosa and George Boniface in the comedy *The Imp* on November 10; Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnette's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* on November 26; Marie Prescott and R. D. McLean in H. Rider Haggard's *Cleopatra* and *Spartacus*, *The Gladiator* on December 17 and 18; and Robert McWade in his own version of *Rip Van Winkle* on April 21. Among the better musical events were the following: the Boston Symphony Orchestral Club, with Max Bachert as director, on December 26; the Marie Greenwood Comic Opera Company with von Suppe's *Boccaccio* on January 29; the Mendelssohn Quintette Club on February 9; the Harvard Quartette Concert Company on February 23; and the Emma Abbott Opera Company with Gounod's *Faust* on April 7. A popular stock company offering a week of plays was the Baldwin Theater Company, beginning on November 17, December 29, and April 27.

Six years later the season 1896-1897 contained a variety of sixty-five performances at the Grand Opera House. The opening event was Gus Williams in the recent hit, *One of the Finest*, a satire on the New York police force, on September 17. Other significant plays were Frederick Warde in *King Lear* on September 29; H. Gratton Donnelly's comedy, *A Pair of Jacks*, on January 28; William Gillett's comedy, *The Private Secretary*, with Edwin Travers on February 2; John D. Gilbert's comedy, *Off the Earth*, with Eddie Foy on February 22; and Denham Thompson's *The Old Homestead* on March 27. Popular musical performances included the following: the Corinne Extravaganza Company with *Hendrick Hudson, Jr.* starring Joe Cawthorne, a German comedian, on September 22; the musical comedy *Fatherland* featuring Charles Gardner, a German comedian, on December 1; and Camilla Urso, violinist, on February 1. Two interesting lectures were "The Story of the Reformation" by Mrs. H. E. Monroe with eighty-five stereopticon views on March 22 and 23, and "The Women of the Confederacy" by Captain James Armstrong on April 1.

Within another six years, the Grand Opera House found itself in competition with the first Asheville Auditorium, which was erected in 1902 by the Asheville Auditorium Com-

pany on the east side of Haywood Street at its intersection with Flint. The Asheville Auditorium Company consisted of a president, a board of directors, and stockholders. The first performance in the Auditorium was an Elks Circus with local talent on April 14 and 15, 1902, but the formal opening was on the following May 7 when the New York Boys' Symphony Orchestra appeared in concert.

Shortly after the opening of the first season of the Auditorium, the *Asheville Citizen* for October 6, 1902, carried a detailed article, with side elevation drawings of the Auditorium, indicating that the sight lines of the theater had been found to be poor. A special committee appointed by the board of directors reported on June 9 that it had consulted with architect R. S. Smith, who had recommended raising the stage floor and then the auditorium floor. The board of directors, meeting on September 29, 1902, decided to proceed at once with the raising of the stage floor so that the stage would be completed for a booking of Sousa's Band on October 8. The board of directors was also considering raising the roof over the stage thirty feet.

The season 1902-1903 at both the Grand Opera House and the Auditorium was a full one. Some of the more significant plays at the Opera House were Tom Fitch's *Reaping the Harvest* on September 20; Miss Freda Gallick in Clarence Maiko's *Life's Great Lesson* on October 15; Wilfred Clarke's comedy, *A Wise Woman*, on November 7; and Robert H. Harris in *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, matinee, and *Northern Lights*, evening, on March 23. Six stock companies played for a week's engagement each, and two popular musical comedies appeared for one-night stands, *The Telephone Girl* on September 4 and *A Merry Chase* on January 19.

The better plays presented at the Auditorium during 1902-1903 were as follows: Charles B. Hanford and Mrs. Marie Drofna in *The Taming of the Shrew*, matinee, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, evening, on October 11; Paul Gilmore in Haddon Chambers' comedy, *The Tyranny of Tears*, on October 15; William Bonelli and Rose Stahl in Paul L. Ford's romance of colonial times, *Janice Meredith*, on October 16; Kate Claxton in *The Two Orphans* on November 12; Mrs. Le

Moyné in the comedy, *Among Those Present*, on December 16; and Howard Kyle in Clyde Fitch's *Nathan Hale* on December 18. The season ended on May 5 with a concert featuring Lillian Nordica, soprano, and Edouard De Reszke, basso, with the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, John S. Duss, conductor.

The Asheville Auditorium was destroyed by a fire that began at 4:15 on Saturday morning October 24, 1903. The last performance in the theater was a production on October 23, 1903, of Roy S. Sensabaugh's *The Favor of the Queen*, starring Miss Percy Haswell.¹² The board of directors of the Auditorium held a meeting a few hours after the fire and decided to rebuild on the same site.¹³ The new Auditorium was erected in 1904 with a seating capacity of 1,955; eight boxes; a balcony and a gallery; and a proscenium opening 50 feet wide and 30 feet high.¹⁴ The new Auditorium was opened on September 29, 1904, with W. E. Nankeville's *Human Hearts*, and the reporter covering the opening was well pleased: "The interior of the house was beautiful last evening and impressive in its size, particularly as seen from the gallery. Its coloring of white was harmoniously toned with the bright figured stage curtain and red curtains of the boxes and lighted with nearly 400 electric lights. . . ." ¹⁵

Beginning with the season 1907-1908, both the Auditorium and the Grand Opera House were leased for five years by the S. A. Schloss Theater Circuit of Wilmington, which operated fourteen opera houses in North and South Carolina. The Schloss Circuit represented the powerful Klaw-Erlanger-Schubert Syndicate of New York, which controlled the best entertainment in the country.¹⁶ A detailed examination of the offerings at the Auditorium and the Grand Opera House for the season 1907-1908 indicates that the Schloss policy was to use the Auditorium for only the highest quality of concert entertainment that would draw large audiences at high admission prices. The Opera House was to be used for all touring attractions and for stock companies.

¹² *Asheville Citizen*, October 24, 1903.

¹³ *Asheville Citizen*, January 28, 1904.

¹⁴ *Asheville Citizen*, September 18, 1904.

¹⁵ *Asheville Citizen*, September 30, 1904.

¹⁶ *Asheville Citizen*, August 26, 1907.

During the season 1907-1908 there were eight outstanding musical events at the Auditorium: The Bessie Abbott Opera Company with operatic selections on October 14; three concerts by the Metropolitan Grand Concert Company featuring Florence Hinkle, soprano, and Frederick Martin, basso, on February 10 and 11; Ernestine Schumann-Heink, contralto, on February 14; Jan Kublik, Bohemian violinist, on March 4; Johanna Gadski, soprano, on April 30; and the New York Symphony Orchestra, Walter Damrosch, conductor, with Mary Hissen de Moss, soprano, on May 2.

During the season 1907-1908 at the Grand Opera House there were ninety-one performances, representing a wide variety of entertainment. In this full season the leading plays were the following: *Parsifal*, a religious drama adapted from Wagner by William Lynch Roberts, on October 5; Lottie Blair Parker's *Under Southern Skies* on November 23; Creston Clarke in *The Power That Governs*, a drama of Old Mexico, on December 16; George Ade's *The County Chairman* on January 25; Charles Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse* with Marie Shotszell on January 28; George Broadhurst's *The Easterner* starring Nat C. Godwin on February 5; Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman* on March 11; Pauline Phelps and Marion Short's *The Girl From Out Yonder* with Adelaide Thurston on March 2; Louis E. Shipman's *On Parole* with Mary Emerson on March 24; and Jimmie Rosen in *Buster Brown* on April 11. During the same season at the Grand Opera House, the leading musical productions were *Piff! Paff! Pouf!* with the comedian Ben Grinell on February 4; the comic opera, *The Mayor of Tokio*, starring John L. Learney, on February 19; the Lyman Twins in *The Yankee Drummers* on March 16; the famous team of Murray and Mack in *The Sunny Side of Broadway* on March 31; and De Wolf Hopper in *Happyland* on April 18.

The last performance in the Asheville Grand Opera House was the appearance of Stephanie Longfellow in *The Bishop's Carriage* on May 18, 1910. In 1911 the theater was condemned, and in 1924 the stairway from Patton Avenue was boarded up.¹⁷ In 1935 the Opera House was demolished to

¹⁷ *Asheville Citizen*, March 26, 1950.

make way for a store to be placed in the building by the J. J. Newberry Company of New York, which leased the building for thirty years.¹⁸

In 1909 the Auditorium was conveyed by the Asheville Auditorium Company to the city,¹⁹ and at the beginning of the season 1912-1913, the Auditorium was still leased by the Schloss Circuit with George W. Bailey as the local manager.²⁰ The season 1912-1913 witnessed sixty-eight performances, of which twenty-two could be classed as superior. Among these were the following plays: the famous Ben Greet Players with *The Comedy of Errors* on October 24; Robert Hughes' farce, *Excuse Me*, on November 16; Lee Wilson Dodd's *Finishing Fanny* with Ida St. Leon on December 19; Frederick Warde in *Richard III* on December 25 and 26; Delea M. Clark's *The White Sqaw*, an Indian romance, on December 31; Catherine C. Cushing's comedy, *The Real Thing*, with Henrietta Crossman on January 7; A. E. W. Mason's *Green Stockings* with Margaret Anglin on January 22; *The Trail of The Lonesome Pine*, Eugene Walter's dramatization of John Fox's novel, on January 23; William C. DeMille's *The Woman*, a serious play about certain cliques in Congress, on February 13; Augustin MacHugh's farce, *Officer 666*, on February 15; Edward Peple's *The Littlest Rebel* with Dustin Farnum on March 5; and Graham Moffat's comedy, *Bunty Pulls the Strings*, on March 15.

Popular musical productions during 1912-1913 were *The Balkan Princess* starring Julia Gifford on August 31; George M. Cohan's *Forty-five Minutes from Broadway* featuring Bert Leigh and Hazel Burgess on September 10; Otto Harbach and Karl Hoschna's *Madame Sherry* with Ada Meade on September 14; George V. Hobart's adaptation from the French *Alma, Where Do You Live?* on October 31; *Louisiana Lou* starring Samuel Liebert on November 12; *The Heartbreakers* with George Damerel and Myrtle Vail on December 16; *The Prince of Pilsen* with Jess Dandy on January 4; Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow* with Vernon Dalhart

¹⁸ Asheville Times, March 7, 1935.

¹⁹ Asheville Citizen, January 28, 1934.

²⁰ Asheville Citizen, August 25, 1912.

and Olga Roller on January 18; *The Spring Maid* with Gene Luneska and J. H. Goldsworthy on March 3; *Freckles*, featuring Perry Golden on March 4; and a return of *Alma, Where Do You Live?* with Jesse Willingham and May Lathan on April 5.

Five years later the season 1917-1918 showed a sharp decline in offerings at the Auditorium with a total of only twenty-nine performances. The obvious reason was the general unrest caused by World War I and the nation-wide effort to economize after the declaration of war against Germany on April 6, 1917. Nevertheless almost all of the productions that did appear during 1917-1918 were of high caliber. The first of the plays was a comedy, *Nothing But the Truth*, starring Harry Stubbs, on September 22. This was followed by another comedy, Avery Hopwood's *Fair and Warmer*, on October 6. Then one of the greatest spectacles ever to visit Asheville played October 22-23. This was Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur*, which had a company of two hundred and fifty and twelve horses that were run on treadmills during the chariot race. Another comedy, Lee Wilson Wood's *Pals First*, arrived on October 29, starring Tim Murphv. Still another comedy, Remold Wolf's and Channing Pollock's *The Beauty Shop*, played on December 4, followed by George V. Hobart's serious drama *Experience* on January 29. One of the greatest actresses of the American stage, Helen Hayes, appeared on March 8 and 9 in *Pollyanna*, based on the stories of Eleanor H. Porter. Salisbury Field and Margaret Mayo's comedy, *Twin Beds*, was presented on March 12, matinee and evening; and the season ended on April 19-20 with Richard W. Tully's *The Bird of Paradise*, advertised as "the story of a woman's soul."

Equally good were the musical presentations during 1917-1918. The season opened on September 11 and 12 with *The Pirates of Penzance* featuring Angela Redmond, soprano. Later in the month, on September 20, Irving Berlin's *Stop! Look! and Listen!* played, followed on September 29 by Bartholomae, Bolton, and Kern's *Very Good, Eddie*. Another musical of similar quality was Bolton, Wodehouse, and Kern's *Have a Heart* on November 27. On December 19,

Margaret Woodrow Wilson, daughter of the President, appeared in a concert for the benefit of the War Relief Fund. Miss Wilson was a soprano.

Five years later the season 1922-1923 contained only a slight increase in the number of performances. There were thirty-one, plus twelve days of B. F. Keith Vaudeville on Mondays and Tuesdays at the end of December and during January. Although times were prosperous enough, the touring road companies were beginning to feel the effects of the increasing competition of motion pictures. Star performers who appeared in plays during the season were as follows: George Sidney in Aaron Hoffman's comedy, *Welcome Stranger*, on October 4; Ruth Gordon and Gregory Kelly in Frank Craven's comedy, *The First Year*, on December 20 and 21; Olga Petrova in her own drama, *The White Peacock*, a Spanish romance, on January 13; and Margaret Anglin in Paul Kester's *The Woman of Bronze* on March 5. Also, the Carolina Playmakers were well received on April 23 with a program of three one-act plays entitled *Peggy*, *Agatha*, and *Mama*.

Leading the musical productions for 1922-1923 were *The Mikado* and *H. M. S. Pinafore* on November 3 and 4 with De Wolf Hopper; *The Passing Show*, the ninth annual colossal Schubert production, on December 8; Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn with the Denishawn Dancers on February 17; and George Damerel and Myrtle Vail in *The Red Widow* on March 13. In addition, the Asheville Saturday Music Club sponsored the following concert artists: Giuseppe Danise, baritone of the Metropolitan Opera, on October 26; Evelyn Scotney, soprano, on November 27; Irene Williams, soprano, in Mozart's *Così fan Tutte* in an English version by Henry E. Krehbiel on January 12; and Harold Bauer, pianist, and Caroline Lazzari, contralto, on April 18.

Beginning with the summer of 1924, Asheville became rather famous for its summer grand opera seasons, usually in the middle of August, except for the last one in 1929 at the end of August. The season consisted of one week of opera with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday. During the first five seasons, the engagement was held by the San Carlo

Opera Company of New York, under the management of Fortune Gallo. During the sixth and last season in 1929, the booking was held by the Cincinnati Grand Opera Company under the management of Isaac Van Grove. All performances were in the Auditorium.

The season 1927-1928 at the Auditorium was fairly full with thirty-one performances, with musical productions outnumbering plays. The first significant drama was Somerset Maugham's *The Constant Wife* with Lou Tellegen, Charlotte Walker, Norman Hackett, and Emma Bunting on October 22. This was followed on November 2 and 3 by *Broadway*, a play concerning night clubs and prohibition and starring Roy Lane and Billy Brown. Anne Nichols' very famous *Abie's Irish Rose* was presented on January 4. On January 23 Richard Bennet appeared in Kenyon Nicholson's *The Barker*, concerning carnival life, and on March 17 there was *The Poor Nut* by J. C. and Elliot Nugent. Among musical presentations, the famous George E. Wintz production of the *Ziegfeld Follies* with Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn played on September 21 and 22. This was followed on October 8 by another Ziegfeld show, *Kid Boots*, starring Pauline Blair and Charles Williams. The Schubert production, *My Maryland*, was offered on November 9 and 10, followed on December 19 by *Hit the Deck* with music by Vincent Youmans and starring Marion Saki. *Rose Marie* appeared on February 2 and 3, and on February 11 there was Deems Taylor's opera in English, *The King's Henchman*, with an outstanding cast. Perhaps the highlight of the season was an evening with Will Rogers on March 7. He was advertised as a performer "who is liable to talk about anything or anybody."

After 1927-1928, the seasons declined rapidly. In 1928-1929 there were only nine performances from September 26 through April 23, although the Leona Powers and Howard Miller Stock Company opened at the Auditorium on May 20 and played through June 29. During 1929-1930 there were only five performances, with the appearance of famed Sir Harry Lauder as the last event on April 9. Then the Jimmie Hodges Musical Comedy Company offered a combination

of musical comedy and vaudeville from May 19 through May 31.

The last season in the Auditorium opened on September 8, 1930, with the Freiburg Passion Play, which remained for a week with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday. On October 16 Preston Sturges' comedy, *Strictly Dishonorable*, was presented, starring Elizabeth Love and Cesar Romero. On March 14 Ethel Barrymore appeared in Lili Hatvany's *The Love Duel*, adapted by Zoë Akins. Miss Barrymore was supported by Walter Gilbert. The last performance in the Auditorium was a minstrel presented on April 23 by the Colonel Charles Young Post of the American Legion Drum and Bugle Corp of Charlotte.

The Auditorium was condemned by the City Council on June 18, 1931, as a fire hazard.²¹ The demolition of the building was begun on November 23, 1937.²² In 1936, the Citizens Hotel Corporation, operators of the George Vanderbilt Hotel, gave to the city a strip of land behind the old 1904 Auditorium and behind the George Vanderbilt Hotel.²³ On this property the present Asheville Auditorium was constructed as a WPA project.²⁴ The new Auditorium was dedicated on January 6, 1940, and the first performance was a Civic Music Association concert by Yehudi Menuhin on January 8, 1940.²⁵

²¹ *Asheville Times*, June 19, 1931.

²² *Asheville Citizen*, November 24, 1937.

²³ *Asheville Citizen*, January 6, 1940.

²⁴ *Asheville Citizen*, March 26, 1950.

²⁵ *Asheville Times*, December 27, 1939.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD AND THE SOLID SOUTH

By VINCENT P. DE SANTIS*

James A. Garfield's presidency has usually been noted for its brevity, a patronage fight with Roscoe Conkling, and the Star Route Frauds. Almost totally unnoticed by historians were Garfield's efforts to break up the "Solid South" and to recover for his party in this section some of the political power it had enjoyed during the early years of Reconstruction.¹ While Garfield was not in office long enough to work out a policy for the entire South, he did have to deal with the rise of William Mahone, the Readjuster leader from Virginia. This development is a part of Republican history and of Garfield's presidency that has long been neglected. It is also an important aspect of southern politics since the Compromise of 1877 that has been just about completely ignored by historians of the South.²

From the close of the Civil War through the mid-eighties, the Southern Question was probably the most important issue in American politics and the number one political problem for the Republicans.³ During Reconstruction the Southern Question included all the controversies relating to the Negro, the Civil War, and the military occupation of the South. Accompanying this was the Republican strategy of waving the bloody shirt which exploited the themes that southern whites

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¹ See for example T. C. Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, Conn.: 2 volumes, 1925), II, hereinafter cited as Smith, *Life and Letters of Garfield*; R. G. Caldwell, *James A. Garfield, Party Chieftain* (New York, 1931); E. P. Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (New York, 5 volumes, 1917-1937), IV, 92-120; E. E. Sparks, *National Development, 1877-1885* (New York 1907) 182-191.

² Francis B. Simkins, *The South, Old and New* (New York, 1947), 235, does not even mention Garfield by name and dismisses the Mahone matter in a sentence or two (this reference will hereinafter be cited as Simkins, *South, Old and New*); William B. Hesseltine, *The South in American History* (New York, 1943), 568, deals with it very briefly (this reference will hereinafter be cited as Hesseltine, *The South in American History*); and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: 1951), 100-101, handles Garfield and Mahone in a paragraph.

³ See for example *Harper's Weekly*, XXI (February 17, 1877), 122, "As slavery was the commanding question of our politics for a generation before the war, so the 'Southern question' which grows out of Reconstruction will long be the most important of all our political problems."

were still disloyal and had learned nothing from the war, that northern Democrats were untrustworthy since they still had the same character and spirit as when they had sympathized with treason in the war, and that the nation required the rule of the party of patriotism which happened to be the Republican party. Some students of this period have looked upon the Compromise of 1877, which saw the removal of the troops from the South and the restoration of "home rule" to this section, as eliminating the Southern Question as the chief issue in national politics and as marking the beginning of the disappearance of the bloody shirt.⁴ Actually both remained for some time after the end of Reconstruction as an important part of American politics. By the turn of the twentieth century the bloody shirt had pretty largely vanished, but the Southern Question has remained to our own day.

The Southern Question may have become subordinated to other issues like the tariff, trusts, the money question, and civil service in the 'eighties and 'nineties, but it continued to be a principal political problem for the Republican party, and it began to take on a different character from that which it had during Reconstruction. In the years following the Compromise of 1877, the Southern Question, as far as the Republicans were concerned, meant a "Solid South" and the efforts to destroy the Democratic supremacy that had developed in this section as a result of military Reconstruction. The Republicans shifted their appeals in the South from Negroes to whites, and if it is a truism of Reconstruction that the Republicans enfranchised the freedman to build a party in the South, it is a truism that after Reconstruction they practically abandoned him to do the same thing. The Republicans, still a sectional party and engaged with the Democrats in a fierce struggle for control of the national government for nearly two decades after the political settlement in 1877,

⁴ See an article by James A. Woodburn, "Republican Party," in Andrew McLaughlin and A. B. Hart (eds.), *Cyclopedia of American Government* (New York, 3 volumes, 1914), III, 196-197; R. W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought, the Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York, 1954), 37, hereinafter cited as Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought*; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), 431, hereinafter cited as Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*; and Hesselstine, *The South in American History*, 568.

were severely handicapped by their lack of appeal in the South. Thus for the Republicans, the "new" Southern Question took on a growing instead of a declining significance, and it has persisted to the present day in spite of the breakthroughs in the South in 1928, 1952, and 1956.

Because the South has been overwhelmingly Democratic since 1877, it has been assumed in many quarters that the Republicans, apart from Reconstruction, have never really been seriously interested or active in building a strong party in this part of the country. Among students of American politics there has been a widespread and persistent belief that with the removal of the troops, the Republicans gave up the fight in the South as hopeless and unprofitable and wrote off this section as a possible area to contend for, maintaining there only a skeleton organization composed almost entirely of federal officeholders.⁵ This conclusion has helped to foster one of the leading myths of American politics, for Republican lack of success in the South has not been from a lack of trying. On the contrary, Republican leaders have constantly and strenuously worked to break up the Democratic South and to establish their party on a strong and permanent basis in these States.⁶ They had no intentions of permitting the South to go Democratic by default, even though this might appear to be the case. The Republicans needed the South, and they needed it badly if they ever wanted to make their party the majority one in all the major sections of the country as they had been able to do in 1872, and if they wanted to retain their grip on the federal government in the very closely contested elections of the 'eighties and 'nineties.

When the strategy of military Reconstruction and that of enfranchising the Negro failed to build up Republicanism in the South, party leaders turned to other tactics to prevent the formation of a "Solid South." Rutherford B. Hayes

⁵ E. E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York, 1942), 121-122; V. O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York, 1949), 277-285, 291, 292, 295, 296; H. R. Penniman, *Sait's American Parties and Elections* (New York, fourth edition, 1948), 32, 34-35; A. N. Holcombe, *Political Parties of Today* (New York, 1922), 193-194; Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 222-223; and Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 477.

⁶ Vincent P. De Santis, "Republican Efforts to 'Crack' the Democratic South," *Review of Politics*, XIV (April, 1952), 244-264.

worked to spread Republicanism among southern whites by conciliating them with the removal of the troops and the plums of patronage. Chester A. Arthur hoped to make the Independent Democrats of the South the nucleus of a new Republican party there. Benjamin Harrison banked his hopes upon the Force Bill of 1890 as the best means for overthrowing the southern Democracy, and when Populism came to the South, Republican leaders tried to fuse with the new party.⁷

When Garfield became President, he already had an intimate knowledge of the workings of Hayes' policy of conciliating southern whites, and of how bitterly the party had quarreled about it. This valuable experience, along with his own in Congress with southern Democrats, led him to forsake Hayes' pacificatory policy and to distrust strongly any possibility of winning over southerners to Republicanism through such an approach.

When Hayes had launched his southern policy, Garfield was the Republican leader in the House, and in spite of his support in Congress of Radical Reconstruction, he went along with the new venture in the South proposed by the President. Being a close political associate of Hayes, he hoped the Republicans would give the President a fair chance, for as he explained to an intimate friend, the President of Hiram College, "It is due to Hayes that we stand by him and give his policy a fair trial."⁸ A few days after Hayes had taken office, Garfield attending a social gathering at the home of George M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy under Grant, had listened to Republican leaders discussing the new southern policy. While an outward appearance of approval existed, Garfield found much hostile criticism and predictions of failure for the President. James G. Blaine argued that the dif-

⁷ See the following articles by Vincent P. De Santis, "President Hayes' Southern Policy," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXI (November, 1955), 476-494; "President Arthur and the Independent Movements in the South in 1882," *The Journal of Southern History*, XIX (August, 1953), 346-363; "Benjamin Harrison and the Republican Party in the South, 1889-1893," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LI (December, 1955), 279-302; "Republican Fusion in the South, 1892-1896," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*.

⁸ James A. Garfield to Burke Hinsdale, March 10, 1877, taken from Mary L. Hinsdale (ed.), *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1949), 368, hereinafter cited as Hinsdale, *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters*.

ferences between the North and South were too deep to be bridged over by the methods of Hayes, but Garfield "insisted that we should give the policy a fair trial and have said so to all who have spoken to me on the subject."⁹

As time went by Garfield became more critical of the new southern policy launched by Hayes and feared that a fatal split would develop in the party. Two days after the troops left South Carolina, Garfield confided to his cousin, Dr. Silas Boynton, the premonition of Hayes moving faster than the people would sustain him. "I see signs already," he added, "of an outbreak in our ranks." By the summer of 1877, Garfield no longer credited Hayes for initiating the new policy and candidly told a reporter that Grant's change of heart about the South in the closing days of his presidency, had made the new policy inevitable. That fall Garfield frankly informed Hayes that the vital flaw in his policy was that he assumed to act as though southern conciliation was his own personal doing. "He thus made his friends fear and his political enemies hope that he was acting as though he were not in alliance with his party," wrote Garfield in his diary. "It would have been more just and more politic to have associated his party with his proffers of good will," although he told Hinsdale the next month that it was "in the power of the Democratic party to make the whole country rejoice in the President's southern policy, but I fear their usual reactionary spirit will go far to increase public dissatisfaction." By 1878 Garfield had reached the conclusion that Hayes no longer appeared "to be master of his administration," that he had "completely . . . lost his hold upon his party," and that Hayes' election had been "an almost fatal blow to his party." By 1879 Garfield was convinced that Hayes' policy had "clearly demonstrated, more clearly, the real character of the Southern people than the old policy could have done."¹⁰

⁹ March 11, 1877, Garfield Diary, James A. Garfield Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Garfield Diary or Garfield Papers.

¹⁰ Smith, *Life and Letters of Garfield*, II, 653; *Ohio State Journal*, July 18, 1877; October 26, 1877, Garfield Diary; January 19, March 2-4, 1878, Garfield Papers; Garfield to Hinsdale, November 14, 1877, May 20, 1879, Hinsdale, *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters*, 382-417.

While Garfield had expressed the opinion, following the election of 1878, that the "man who attempts to get up a political excitement in this country on the old sectional issues will find himself without a party and without support,"¹¹ he and party chieftains did exactly this in the campaign of 1880. The Republican platform had declared that the dangers of a "Solid South" could only be averted by "a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. . . . The Solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinion there must find free expression, and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud." In his letter accepting the nomination, Garfield asked that "every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot . . . and have it honestly counted," for "it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed . . . until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. . . . The most serious evils which now afflict the South," added Garfield, "arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power."¹² The Republican Campaign Textbook for 1880 gave more than half of its space to bloody shirt themes, and *Harper's Weekly*, which had shifted from the bloody shirt to conciliation when Hayes had removed the troops, now took up its old cudgels. Garfield, who in the beginning did manifest a desire to campaign on the financial issue, soon took refuge in the war record issue, and before election day, the Republicans were declaring that the South was the major issue of the campaign.¹³ And when it was all over, Garfield explained it to another party chieftain that "The distrust of the Solid South and of adverse financial legislation have been the chief factors in the contest. I think also the country wanted to rebuke the attempts of the Demo-

¹¹ Paul Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston, Mass.: 1937), 111, hereinafter cited as Buck, *Road to Reunion*.

¹² Edward McPherson, *A Handbook of Politics for 1880* (Washington, D. C.: 1880), 19, 192.

¹³ Buck, *Road to Reunion*, 113.

crats to narrow the issue to the low level of personal abuse."¹⁴

There was considerable speculation among Republicans as to what Garfield would do about the Southern Question when he entered the White House. Among officials in Washington there was a strong belief that the new President would seek to break up the one-party system in the South by enhancing the character of the Republican organizations there. The view also prevailed that Garfield would make no effort to revive the Whig party in the South or to convert southern Democrats to Republicanism by federal patronage. There was also a general feeling in the nation's capital that Hayes' policy was an epoch gone by, and that Garfield did not intend to resurrect it. The stalwart Republicans contended that Garfield would no longer tolerate a policy of concession toward southern whites, but that he would demand a full, free, and honest count in elections in the South.¹⁵ Southern Republicans also felt that Garfield's election meant a return to Reconstruction days, and one of them from Arkansas reported that it was "the General conclusion throughout the State that the incoming administration will be Strictly Radical," while a Carpetbagger from Tennessee called Garfield's victory "glorious, and . . . especially so to us 'carpetbaggers,' for it ensures to us—at least in this section—peace and tranquility not only for four years but I believe indefinitely."¹⁶ But when a southern Republican called on Garfield and demanded to know whether his administration would be a stalwart one, the President lost his patience, objected to being lectured to and having his Republicanism questioned, and the visitor left sooner than he had intended.¹⁷

Months before his inauguration, Garfield, privately, but clearly, revealed his intentions of abandoning Hayes' policy of conciliating southern whites. In his opinion, the "final cure" for the "Solid South" lay in the education of its youth

¹⁴ Garfield to John Sherman, November 4, 1880, John Sherman Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Sherman Papers.

¹⁵ *New York Tribune*, March 19, 1881; *Louisville Commercial* (Kentucky), November 25, 1880, hereinafter cited as *Louisville Commercial*.

¹⁶ B. F. Hobb, Arkansas, to Sherman, February 7, 1881, Sherman Papers; W. P. Chamberlain, Knoxville, to Garfield, November 3, 1880, Garfield Papers.

¹⁷ March 9, 1881, Garfield Diary.

and in the development of its business interests. "I do not believe a speedy cure is possible," wrote Garfield. "Patronage to Democrats has been tried and has proved a dreary failure. Rebel Democrats appointed to office by Republicans take one of two courses—either they suffer complete ostracism by their neighbors, or they become more fierce assailants of the Republican party to keep themselves in good standing at home. In fact," observed Garfield, "the 'Solid South' accepts all patronage at the hands of the Republican administration as a confession of our weakness and their superiority."

"I am not sure that the appointment of Southern Republicans, however worthy, to prominent places is treated by the Solid South as any favor to that section," continued Garfield. "I do not know a better way to treat that people than to let them know that it is a modern free government, and only men who believe in it, and not in feudalism, can be invited to act in administering it. Then give the South, as rapidly as possible, the blessings of general education and business enterprise and trust to time and these forces to work out the problem." A few days later Garfield again expressed the idea that "Time is the only cure for the Southern difficulties. In what shape it will come, if it come at all, is not clear."¹⁸

Garfield began to reverse Hayes' policy of conciliating southern whites in a number of ways. Carpetbaggers found him more willing than Hayes to listen to their advice and more amenable to their suggestions about strategy in the South. This was especially true in the cases of former Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain of South Carolina, who had lost out in this State when the troops left, and Stephen W. Dorsey, former United States Senator from Arkansas, who had played a leading role in bringing the pivotal State of Indiana into the Republican column in 1880. Garfield regarded Dorsey as "a man of great ability and with strong and decisive views of the merits of men," and he told Chamberlain, "I shall expect and need the support of all who have special knowledge of Southern affairs, and I shall have occasion hereafter, beyond doubt . . . to gain your advice and knowl-

¹⁸ Garfield to Hinsdale, December 30, 1880, Garfield Papers; and January 11, 1881, Hinsdale, *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters*, 478-479.

edge in particular matters which will arise. I urge you to give me your advice at all times, and assure you, you will not annoy me by so doing."¹⁹

Either because of his own painful experience or a sincere change of heart. Chamberlain actually pressed upon Garfield pretty much of what Hayes had tried to do, and the exchange of letters reveals some of Garfield's ideas about redeeming the South and some of the problems then facing any Republican President in that part of the country. Putting behind him the bitter attacks he had made upon Hayes' policy, Chamberlain strongly urged Garfield to drop all party leaders in the South tainted with Reconstruction and to embrace those who had the esteem of southern whites. Chamberlain argued that partisan zeal, services, courage, and fortitude in standing up to the party should not alone qualify a man for office in the South unless he were also honest, capable, and enjoyed a good reputation in his own community. With such a policy a beginning could be made toward building a new Republican organization in the South capable of giving good local government, a prerequisite for party victory. Chamberlain warned though that too many Republicans were ready to aid the cause of any one who broke with the Democratic party in the South, regardless of the merits of the case, and used Mahone's movement in Virginia as a good illustration of what he meant. To countenance Mahone was to betray and dishonor the Republican party. "Better by far aid the regular Democracy of Virginia," wrote Chamberlain, "who on this issue are comparatively honorable."²⁰

In response to these recommendations, Garfield pointed out that he had "no faith in any sudden cure for our troubles in that direction [the South]. Nothing but wise and right methods, pursued patiently during a series of years, can give us free suffrage and its necessary complement, local good government." While he agreed that Chamberlain's "method . . . of building up a sound Republican party in the South by excluding from positions all unworthy persons is unquestion-

¹⁹ December 14, 1880, Garfield Diary; Garfield to D. H. Chamberlain, February 13, 1881, Garfield Papers.

²⁰ Chamberlain to Garfield, December 28, 1880, and January 24, 1881, Garfield Papers.

ably a good one, the antagonisms and jealousies which have so abounded among our friends in the South [make] the selection of such officers . . . very difficult." Garfield wondered whether Chamberlain's analysis of the situation in the South covered the "apparent inexpugnable hostility of the Southern Democrats to the Republican party of the nation? If the South treated the national administration with the respect it deserves they would greatly modify and soften the feeling of our northern people," wrote Garfield, "but they pursue the Republicans in Congress with the same spirit which led them to denounce the local Republican governments in the South." The Southern Question was receiving Garfield's earnest attention, "as you will see more fully by and by, and I may add," he told Chamberlain, "that your views . . . coincide with mine . . . I am . . . in favor of a policy toward the South of reasonable confidence and most hearty good will, but I agree with you in regarding the action of the national administration in all Southern appointments as deserving more care and stricter principles than seemed to have marked some past administrations, and I am ready to say explicitly that I fully agree with you in your views of Mahone and his party."²¹

Negro Republicans in the South also sought a change in policy. Early in January, 1881, a group of their leaders from South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina headed by R. B. Elliott of South Carolina, called upon Garfield at his home in Mentor, Ohio, where they asked him to give up the policy of appointing men in the South who were not in sympathy with Republican principles and who used their position to hinder the enforcement of laws passed for the protection of all citizens. These Negro leaders wanted Garfield to ignore those Republican politicians in the South who had no following and who represented no one but themselves, for such appointments only had the effect of weakening the party. These southern Negroes also pointed out that their race enjoyed citizenship in name but not in fact. Southern whites not only questioned the Negro's right to vote but denied it by force and subterfuge. Unable to redress their

²¹ Garfield to Chamberlain, January 15, February 3, 1881, Garfield Papers.

grievances through the courts, Negroes looked to the party of emancipation to raise them from their oppression.²²

While Garfield promised the Negro leaders to give careful consideration to their problems, especially to the status of their race in the South, he pointed out that no law could confer and maintain for long, equality of citizenship not upheld by a reasonable degree of culture and intelligence. Garfield told the Negro leaders that education offered the final solution to their plight, but that this was not entirely the responsibility of the State or national government. Negro parents must help in every way, a bit of advice, which according to the *New York Age*, leading Negro newspaper of the North, meant telling the freedman to obtain "Webster's Blue Black spelling book."²³

Garfield's advice to the Negroes reflected the changing attitude on the part of the North toward the Negro that began to take place in the closing years of Reconstruction. Gradually the more thoughtful northerners had become weary of the Southern Question as it was thought of during Reconstruction. More and more northerners had come to realize that Reconstruction was primarily, if not wholly, a domestic problem, and that southerners would have to solve it themselves. Except for the Republican party interest in the Negro vote, there was not much concern among northerners for helping the freedman. After 1877 northerners were, for the most part, in substantial agreement with southerners that the Negro was not prepared for equality and that the South should be allowed to deal with the race problem in its own way. The North had also come to realize that the elimination of the Negro from politics must be recognized to give more meaning to the reunion of the North and South.²⁴

Some of the greatest northern champions that the Negro originally had began to change their minds about him as Reconstruction progressed. E. L. Godkin, in editorials in the *Nation* in the spring of 1874, asserted that the average intel-

²² *Weekly Louisianian* (New Orleans), January 22, 1881; *Wilmington Post*, January 23, 1881.

²³ *Wilmington Post*, January 23, 1881; *New York Age* (New York), April 13, 1889.

²⁴ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 226; Buck, *Road to Reunion*, 283; Simkins, *South, Old and New*, 229.

ligence among Negroes was "so low that they are slightly above the level of animals," and he asked how long it would take to change the "once 'sovereign State' of South Carolina into a truly loyal, truly Republican, truly African San Domingo." At the same time, Godkin also concluded that the Negro, as a legislator, was "merely a horrible failure." By the spring of 1877, the *Nation* has assumed the position that "The negro will disappear from the field of national politics. Henceforth the nation as a nation will have nothing more to do with him," and the *New York Tribune* had reached the conclusion that "after ample opportunity to develop their own latent capacities," Negroes had only proved that "as a race they are idle, ignorant, and vicious."²⁵ *Harper's Weekly* observed that "There are Republicans who seem to suppose that without armed occupation of the South there can be no security for the negro. But it will be found that his condition is most satisfactory where the military arm is weakest," and that the danger of the Negro being "reduced to a condition little better than slavery . . . has in great measure passed away."²⁶ As a careful and recent student of the Negro in America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century has shown, "the Northern press was not too reluctant to sacrifice the Negro on the altar of reconciliation, peace and prosperity," and that attitudes of the northern press and magazines "endorsed the policies and approved the events that steadily reduced the Negro to a subordinate place in American life. On this point American thought generally conformed to American life."²⁷

Garfield was somewhat pessimistic about the future of the Negro, and in December, 1876, he had privately told a friend, "The future of the negro is a gloomy one unless some new method can be introduced to adjust him to his surroundings. His labor is indispensable to the prosperity of the South. His power to vote is a mortal offense to his late masters. If

²⁵ Quoted from Robert Franklin Durdan, *James Shepherd Pike, Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882* (Durham, 1957), 204, who is quoting the *Nation*, XVIII (April 16, 30, 1874), 247-248, 282; see also the *Nation*, XXIV (April 15, 1877), 202; *New York Tribune*, April 7, 1877.

²⁶ *Harper's Weekly*, XXI (April 14, March 31, 1877), 242, 282.

²⁷ Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought*, 159, 216, and Chapters 10 and 11.

they control it, it will be not only a wrong to him but a dangerous increase of their power. If he votes against them, as he almost universally inclines to do, he will perpetuate the antagonism which now bears such baneful fruit."²⁸ Three years later participating in a symposium on Negro suffrage, Garfield expressed some reservations about it. "Possibly a plan of granting suffrage gradually as the negro became more intelligent would have been wiser," he wrote in 1879, "but the practical difficulties of such a plan would have been very great." Yet Garfield did conclude that "on every ground of private right, of public justice, and national safety, the negro ought to have been enfranchised. For the same reasons, strengthened and confirmed by our own experience, he ought not to be disfranchised."²⁹

In his inaugural address, Garfield gave great prominence to the supremacy of the nation and its laws; criticized southern whites for opposing the freedom of the ballot and bluntly stated that to prohibit Negroes from voting was "a crime, which if persisted in, will destroy the Government itself."³⁰ For his southern member of the Cabinet, to head the Navy Department, he picked, after a long search, William Henry Hunt, a native white Republican who had allied himself with the Carpetbagger governments in Louisiana during Reconstruction and who had been with S. B. Packard, at the time of the siege in 1877, in the statehouse. Hunt retained this post until President Chester Arthur, in the spring of 1882, sent him as Minister to Russia. Southern Republicans hailed the choice of Hunt as an earnest indication of what Garfield meant to do in the South, and a leading party newspaper in this section called the new Secretary "a Republican of the most approved sort. . . . It is so much better treatment than anything southern Republicans had reason to expect that they have been brought into good temper."³¹

²⁸ Garfield to Hinsdale, December 4, 1876, Hinsdale, *Garfield-Hinsdale Letters*, 345.

²⁹ "Ought the Negro to be Disfranchised? Ought He to Have Been Enfranchised?" *North American Review*, CXXVIII (March, 1879), 246-250.

³⁰ James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1908* (Washington, D. C.: 11 volumes, 1909), VI, 4597-4598.

³¹ *Wilmington Post*, March 13, 1881.

Hayes had strongly urged Garfield to take a southerner into the Cabinet regarding "it as of great importance that you should have at least one," but Dorsey doubted the wisdom of such a move for the reason that a southerner would be difficult to handle and that the appointment would not conciliate the South.³² There was even some talk about giving a Cabinet post to a Negro, particularly former Senator Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, and one of the President's intimates predicted that this strategy would win more support from the freedman than "a hundred negro marshals or Collectors of Internal Revenue."³³ Before he had finally chosen Hunt, Garfield had had a difficult time in finding a southern Republican to head an executive department. "The southern member still eludes me," he told Blaine and John Hay in January, 1881. "One by one the southern roses fade. Nearly every name which I have considered has suffered some eclipse—total or partial. Do you know a Magnolia blossom that will stand our northern climate?" As late as a month before the inauguration, Garfield was still looking for a satisfactory southerner and reported that his search "thus far had not been fruitful in results."³⁴

In spite of what Garfield had told Chamberlain about patronage in the South he set out to change Hayes' policy here. Since southern Republicans had little or no representation in Congress, Garfield laid down the rule that appointments would be made on the recommendations of the State chairmen whom he would recognize as the official head of the party in their respective States.³⁵ In one matter he did follow Hayes when he continued the notorious practice of giving office to a few Negro leaders so as to maintain the fiction that the Republican party amply rewarded the colored man. Robert Elliott of South Carolina became a Special Agent of the Treasury Department, Frederick Douglass the

³² Hayes to Garfield, December 16, 1880, Garfield Papers; December 14, 1880, Garfield Diary.

³³ George W. Carter, Washington, D. C., to Garfield, February 4, 1881, Garfield Papers.

³⁴ Garfield to Blaine, January 24, 1881; to John Hay, January 25, 1881; to Senator George F. Edmunds, Vermont, February 2, 1881, Garfield Papers.

³⁵ *New York Age* disclosed this on September 8, 1886, when it accused Arthur of breaking his promise to follow Garfield's rule.

Recorder of Deeds in Washington, Bruce the Register of the Treasury, and John Langston, Minister to Haiti. When a delegation of Negroes from North Carolina protested against an unequal distribution of federal patronage in their State, Garfield told them that while he sympathized with them, he followed the recommendation of the party leaders, and whenever an opportunity arose, he recognized the colored race.³⁶

But Garfield's most pressing problem in the South was the ticklish political situation in Virginia, the handling of which produced his sharpest break with Hayes' policy. William Mahone had organized and assumed the leadership of the Readjuster movement in this State which called for a scaling down of the State debt and which championed more liberal appropriations for schools and a number of social and economic measures, including better treatment for Negroes. Mahone's foes in the South and the financial interests in the northeast denounced his policy as a repudiation of the State debt. Actually he demanded a shifting to West Virginia one third of the debt and a refunding of the remainder at a lower interest rate. Mahone had also become personally dissatisfied with the regular Democratic organization in Virginia, and during the depression of the 'seventies his railroad, the Norfolk and Western, had fallen into the hands of a receivership. Added to this mishap was his setback at the Democratic State convention in 1877, where a combination of his opponents defeated his gubernatorial aspirations, a situation which had aroused him to become an Independent. Supported by neither the regular party machinery, nor by the upper economic and social classes, the Readjuster party swept Virginia in the State elections of 1879, winning 80 of the 140 seats in the State legislature.³⁷

³⁶ *Wilmington Post*, June 19, 1881.

³⁷ For a full discussion of the Readjuster movement, see Charles Chilton Pearson, *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia* (New Haven, Conn.: 1917), hereinafter cited as Pearson, *Readjuster Movement in Virginia*; and Nelson M. Blake, *William Mahone: Soldier and Political Insurgent* (Richmond, Va.: 1935), hereinafter cited as Blake, *Mahone*. During the Hayes Administration John Tyler, Jr., son of the former president, was a leader in the movement to effect a closer relationship between the Republican party and Mahone. Following the election of 1879 in Virginia, Tyler addressed letters to Hayes and his advisers and to Republican leaders in Virginia urging that a "thorough and cordial understanding" be established between Mahone and "ourselves" which in turn could achieve the "Salvation" of the Republican party in Virginia. Blake, *Mahone*, 156, 197-198.

Mahone's victory represented a test case for a new Republican policy in the South, for what had happened in Virginia might well be duplicated throughout the South. Other would-be Mahones had risen or were rising, and a fusion of Virginia Republicans with Mahone would test the fruits of a policy of co-operation with the Independents in the South, since Mahone, with his State ticket up for re-election in 1881, had promised to act with the administration provided the Republicans in Virginia threw in their lot with him. Vigorous support for a Republican-Readjuster alliance came from white Republican leaders in the South and from northern stalwarts like Senator Don Cameron of Pennsylvania who expressed the opinion that Mahone could do more for the Negro and the Republican party than the federal government could do with a standing army.³⁸

From the time of his election until his untimely death, Garfield was under every kind of conceivable pressure from various Republican quarters to sanction an alliance between Virginia Republicans and Mahone. Late in December, 1880, Cameron led a delegation to see Garfield and brought a statement from Mahone which gave his views on the debt question in Virginia which Garfield regarded as "ex parte" but he wanted to hear the other side and see what Republicans said about it. As for a bankrupt State, one could only ask it to run the government economically, sustain its schools, and apply the remainder of its revenues as "the maximum of reasonable taxation to its debts. If that is Mahone's position, followed up in good faith," Garfield remarked, "it is defensible. If he acts with the administration senators he shall be treated like them—but he must take the step first."³⁹

But as we know from his letter to Chamberlain, Garfield, like Hayes before him, did regard Mahone as a repudiator. Compounding this difficulty was an incident that had oc-

³⁸ James D. Brady to Garfield, November 4, 1880, Garfield Papers; J. F. Lewis to Garfield, January 21, 1881, Sherman Papers; J. F. Lewis to John Tyler, Jr., January 21, 1881; Tyler to Rutherford B. Hayes, January 31, 1881, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Fremont, Ohio, hereinafter cited as Hayes Papers. Brady was the collector at Petersburg; Lewis, the Republican State Chairman in Virginia; and Tyler, the son of a former president. Cameron's statement appeared in an interview with a reporter of the *Press* (Philadelphia, Penna.), undated clipping, unidentified newspaper, Sherman Papers, Volume 243. This newspaper will hereinafter be cited as the *Press*.

³⁹ December 29, 1880, Garfield Diary.

curred in Virginia in the 1880 campaign. The Readjuster leaders thought that a Republican State ticket would not be put into the field in 1880, and they put up a separate slate of Hancock electors in opposition to the regular Democratic list. But the Republicans entered an electoral ticket, and when Readjusters began to fear that two Democratic electoral rosters might divide their party vote to the point where the Republicans could win, Mahone publicly pledged his support to Hancock and predicted that "the vote of Virginia shall never be given to Garfield."⁴⁰ Then in an effort to aid the Mahone ticket, certain Republican leaders in Virginia and some members of the National Committee conspired to have Republicans in the State vote for the Mahone slate. Two agents sent by Dorsey joined with Colonel James Brady, Collector at Petersburg, in an open appeal to Republicans in Virginia to vote for Hancock and to discard Garfield. Brady published a long card in the *Richmond Whig* and issued thousands of circulars among Republicans in the State to abandon Garfield and to support Hancock.⁴¹ Aroused by this development Garfield telegraphed to a loyal party leader in the State that "no one has been authorized by me to abandon [the] fight for the Electoral vote of Virginia," and the National Committee finally issued a statement that no one had the authority to withdraw the Republican ticket in Virginia and any one claiming such authority "are pretenders and are guilty of duplicity and fraud."⁴² Nevertheless, this situation had not endeared Mahone to Garfield.

Pressure on Garfield to come to terms with Mahone mounted when Congress met in special session in the spring of 1881. The opportunity for some kind of merger grew out of the situation in the Senate where neither the Republicans nor the Democrats had a majority. There were thirty-seven Republicans, thirty-seven Democrats, one Independent,

⁴⁰ John E. Massey, *Autobiography* (New York, 1909), 191-192; and Thomas V. Cooper and Hector Fenton, *American Politics* (Philadelphia, Penna.: [7 books in one volume], 1882), Book I, 263.

⁴¹ O. H. Russell, Richmond, Virginia, to T. P. Pendleton, November 1, 1880, Sherman Papers; Brady to Republican Friends in Virginia, October 30, 1880, Garfield Papers.

⁴² Garfield to Joseph Jorgensen, October 30, 1880, Hayes Papers; National Committee Statement, November 1, 1880, Garfield Papers.

David Davis of Illinois, and Mahone. Prior to the meeting of the Congress the Associated Press reported that Mahone would vote with the Republicans to organize the Senate in return for which he would control the federal patronage in Virginia.⁴³ The Democrats made the first move to secure a majority in the Senate, when on March 10, Senator George H. Pendleton from Ohio proposed a complete list of the Senate committees with Democratic chairmen and Democratic majorities. The next day Senator Davis promised to aid the Democrats organize the Senate. Ultimate control of the upper house for either party depended upon which way Mahone voted, for if he acted with the Democrats they would have a majority; if he sided with the Republicans, a tie would result with Vice-President Arthur's vote as the decisive factor.

Quite naturally the Democrats were anxious to know how Mahone would vote. Ben Hill of Georgia attempted to force him into the open by charging that the Republicans could only offset Davis' decision to act with the Democrats by acquiring someone elected as a Democrat who planned to disgrace the commission he held. The Georgia Senator named no one and he doubted Republican claims. "I repel as an insult the charge made against any Democrat that he would be false to his colors and is intending to vote with you on the organization," Hill told the Republicans. In answer to Hill, Mahone declared his complete independence of the Democratic caucus and in a running debate with the Georgia Democrat denied that in voting with the Republicans he would betray those who had elected him.⁴⁴

Mahone's stand in the Senate posed a difficult problem for Garfield. The Virginian's action might be the open door to larger consequences in the South, but Garfield believed that the moral power of the movement had been marred by the "apparent advantage" to Mahone and to the "Republicans which his affiliation brings. The situation," confessed Garfield, "makes my policy toward the Republicans of Virginia unusually difficult."⁴⁵

⁴³ *Louisville Commercial*, February 28, 1881.

⁴⁴ *Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, Special Session of the Senate, 6, 20-25.

⁴⁵ March 15, 1881, Garfield Diary.

Senator Hill had mentioned a bargain between Mahone and the Republican party, and part of Mahone's price for acting with the Republicans soon became known. On March 23, Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, leader of the Republican caucus, proposed the election of five new administrative officers of the Senate. George C. Gorham, friend and supporter of Mahone and editor of the *National Republican*, received the nomination for Secretary of the Senate, and Harrison H. Riddleberger from Virginia and one of Mahone's associates, gained the nod for Sergeant-at-Arms. Riddleberger had sponsored the measure for scaling down Virginia's debt and reducing the interest rate, the heart of the Readjuster financial program, and this made him objectionable to Democrats. Being an ex-Confederate officer and a Democratic Elector in 1880 surely did not please the Republicans. As for Mahone himself the Republican Senate leaders gave him five committee assignments, which was much more recognition than a freshman Senator usually receives. The Democrats balked at allowing Gorham and Riddleberger to fill their administrative posts in the Senate, and the Republicans refused to go into executive session until their slate of officials took their posts. Garfield learned that the Republican leaders had resolved to hold on until Mahone "should be satisfied," realizing that this would "continue the deadlock indefinitely," but as the President told Whitelaw Reid, "When our friends have secured all the committees by the help of Mahone, they ought to stand by him until he is reasonably satisfied."⁴⁶

As the deadlock in the Senate continued, the Republican leaders hurried to see Garfield, who appeared willing to work out an alliance with Mahone, but not at the expense of the Republican Party in Virginia. The Cabinet backed up the President on this decision and expressed "a strong feeling of distrust of the Mahone Alliance and a desire to go very slow."⁴⁷ Garfield told Senator Dawes that he would do anything he could "with honor" to secure a free vote and an

⁴⁶ April 4, 1881, Garfield Diary; Garfield to Reid, April 7, 1881, Garfield Papers; Pearson, *Readjuster Movement in Virginia*, 138, 154.

⁴⁷ April 29, 1881, Garfield Diary.

honest count for voters of "all colors" in Virginia, but he would not aid in any arrangement which included in it the advancement "to a post of political honor, a man who as Editor-in-Chief of a newspaper is daily assailing me and my administration."⁴⁸

Garfield was caught on the horns of a dilemma, for as he explained it to John Hay, "In espousing Mahone's course there may be danger of tainting our party with the flavor of repudiation which would in every way be calamitous. Not to help Mahone may lose a great opportunity to make an inroad into the Solid South."⁴⁹ The charge of repudiation against the Readjusters, a stigma which orthodox Republicanism could ill afford to bear, plagued Garfield, for he risked the loss of support from the conservative financial interests of the East if he openly embraced Mahone. After Cameron had visited him to plead the cause of the Readjusters, Garfield wrote to Whitelaw Reid and told him that "the Republican party can give no countenance to any doctrine which savors of repudiation; but a clear distinction may be made between repudiation and bankruptcy." Again when newspapers reported that Garfield had approved the position of the Readjusters on the debt question in Virginia, he privately denied it. Along with his worry over the odium of repudiation was his fear of deserting the Republican organization in Virginia. He had no qualms about ousting Democrats, "of whom there are plenty in Virginia, but I will not remove Republicans to appoint Mahone men," he told Hay. "I shall do enough for Mahone to help him against the Bourbons but not to abandon our organization."⁵⁰

Yet for all these uncertainties, Garfield began to work out a merger with Mahone. Republican leaders in Virginia had asked the President to forego a State ticket in 1881 which

⁴⁸ Garfield to H. L. Dawes, May 2, 1881, Garfield Papers. Gorham in the *National Republican* (Washington, D. C.) was critical of Garfield's failure to give full recognition and support to Mahone by forcing the Democrats to accept Gorham and Riddleberger. The Democrats did prevent the election of these two to their administrative positions in the Senate, and the Republicans agreed to go into executive session without either one of Mahone's supporters receiving his post. This newspaper will hereinafter be cited as the *National Republican*.

⁴⁹ Garfield to Hay, May 29, 1881, Garfield Papers.

⁵⁰ Garfield to Reid, December 30, 1880; to John Hay, January 14, May 29, 1881, Garfield Papers; April 29, 1881, Garfield Diary.

would permit a combination of Republican and Readjuster forces to oppose the Democrats. Originally Garfield had planned to wait until the Readjuster convention of 1881 had taken a stand favoring a free vote and honest count, and the repeal of laws discriminating against the Negro, and then to ask the Republican party in Virginia to endorse that part of the Mahone program relating to the Negro and freedom of the ballot. This would permit Virginia Republicans to form an alliance for a "conscious campaign upon that basis only, carefully excluding any conclusion that would commit them to any doctrine of repudiation." But then the President began to doubt the practicality of this scheme. Mahone did not want the Republican party in his state to hold a convention. Such a procedure, Garfield observed, would allow Mahone to "raid upon their [Republican] numbers and substantially bear his party against" the Democrats, and this the President feared, would demoralize and destroy the Republican party in Virginia.⁵¹

Despite these doubts about the practical side of a merger, Garfield had decided to work out an alliance with Mahone with the view in mind that the results might serve as a guide for future Republican policy in respect to the Independent movements in the South. But the death of the President in the fall of 1881 put an end, temporarily, to this project, and a few months later Democratic newspapers expressed the opinion that Garfield had ignored Mahone's request for aid. The *Washington Post* credited this information to a near friend of the late President, presumably Blaine, while the *Chicago Times* attributed it directly to this source.⁵²

Both the *Post* and *Times* represented Blaine as contending that Garfield had looked upon the Readjuster plan as one of repudiation, and that under such circumstances, he had opposed a coalition between Republicans and Mahone, preferring a Democratic victory to such an alliance. The *National Republican*, a vigorous supporter of Mahone, sharply disagreed with this point of view. From the time Cameron and

⁵¹ Garfield to Hay, May 29, 1881, Garfield Papers.

⁵² *Chicago Times* (Illinois), December 24, 1881; *Washington Post* (D. C.), December 25, 1881.

his group had conferred with Garfield in Ohio in December, 1880, on which occasion the President had called the Riddleberger bill "an honest document," the *Republican* maintained that Garfield had always favored a merger of Republicans and Readjusters.⁵³ On the basis of evidence available, one has to agree with the conclusion of the *Republican*.

Early in February, 1881, John F. Lewis, former Republican Senator from Virginia, then Republican state chairman and a United States Marshal in the State, led a delegation of Virginia Republicans to see Garfield at his home in Mentor, Ohio. Lewis and the group with him, including Negroes as well as whites, favored an alliance with Mahone, and Garfield thought they had taken the right path if they could secure protection and justice for the colored man without endorsing repudiation in any manner. When Lewis returned to Virginia, he stated in public that Garfield had approved a coalition between Mahone and Republicans in Virginia.⁵⁴

Lewis saw Garfield again in June, 1881, and the President told him, "Senator, I stand just where I did at Mentor when I stated that were I a Virginia Republican or colored man, I would vote with the Liberal [Readjuster] party."⁵⁵ The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* reported a similar interview with another Virginia Republican who had called upon Garfield to learn his views on Mahone. The President advised this party member to give his vote to the Readjuster ticket and to discourage attempts to nominate Republican candidates.⁵⁶

To Virginia Republicans who fought to prevent a coalition with Mahone, Garfield gave the same advice that he had given to Lewis. Twice in the spring of 1881, Congressmen Joseph Jorgensen and John F. Dezendorf led delegations of Republicans from Virginia to Washington to protest against any possible administration recognition of Mahone and to ask Garfield to support only "straightout" Republicans in the State. On the first visit, Garfield brushed aside their

⁵³ *National Republican*, December 27, 1881; May 26, June 4, October 9, 1883.

⁵⁴ February 5, 1881, Garfield Diary; *Alexandria Gazette* (Virginia), February 9, 1881.

⁵⁵ *National Republican*, January 2, 1882.

⁵⁶ *Press*, June 8, 1881.

fears by saying that he would give the matter his full attention. On the second occasion, however, he lectured the group severely and even accused Jorgensen of helping the Democrats through his refusal to aid Mahone. At this interview Garfield advised the "straightout" Republicans to support Mahone in every possible way.⁵⁷

In the summer of 1881 another delegation of Virginia Republican foes of Mahone conferred with the President. In the group were members of the Republican State committee including General William C. Wickham, a former State chairman, and Dezendorf and Jorgensen, with Negroes making up half the membership. Speaking for the delegation Wickham told Garfield that regular Republicans opposed a coalition with Mahone, because it would destroy their party in Virginia. They wanted the administration to help them against the Readjuster, but Garfield preferred to work with Mahone rather than with the "straightout" Republicans at that time.⁵⁸

Both Hayes and Garfield had striven for Republican success in the South. Yet to see a diminishing party vote occur in this section in both 1878 and 1880 was highly discouraging. Mahone's victory in Virginia, his championing of the Negro, and his falling out with the regular Democratic party presented the Republicans with the most dramatic opportunity of capturing control of a southern State since Reconstruction. Fearful of losing the support of the conservative financial interests of the northeast, Hayes had repelled Mahone and had condemned him as a repudiator. At first Garfield followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. But, when confronted by an offer from Mahone to act with the Republican party plus the pressure from Republican sources within and outside of the State for a merger with the Readjusters, Garfield agreed to a partial recognition of Mahone. That is, Garfield, still suspicious of Mahone's financial program, endorsed his plan to aid the Negro in Virginia and consented to an alliance between the Republicans and Readjusters only on the basis of Mahone embracing Republicanism. Garfield

⁵⁷ *National Republican*, April 16 and May 4, 1881.

⁵⁸ *National Republican*, June 18, 1881.

would not allow the party organization in Virginia to be abandoned, nor would he turn over to Mahone the patronage in the State. Believing that Mahone needed the votes of the Republicans as much as they needed his vote-getting ability, Garfield divided the offices between both groups in the hope that this policy would result in permanent Republican gains not only in Virginia, but throughout the South. Whether Garfield's strategy would have been a political success is hard to say, for it never ran its full course. His death in the fall of 1881, and the ushering in of a new era under Arthur brought a swift end to a policy of limited co-operation with the Independents in the South.

PROBLEMS OF WRITING A COLLEGE HISTORY

By FRANCIS B. DEDMOND*

I commend the Western North Carolina Historical Association and the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for their interest in the writing of local history. And I am also aware of the singular honor you have accorded me in inviting me to speak to you on "The Problems of Writing a College History."

The writing of college histories, especially in North Carolina, is becoming more and more widespread. Winston Broadfoot in his review of "North Carolina Non-Fiction, 1956-1957" in the April, 1958, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* referred to the five university and college histories written in North Carolina in 1956-1957 as "the largest and most significant" group of books produced by North Carolinians during that period. "In no previous year has there been such an offering about higher education," he reported. One of these five, Louis Round Wilson's *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930*, is the seventh history (either comprehensive or limited as to scope or period) to appear of that institution.

I suppose I was chosen to speak on the topic assigned me because I have recently written a college history, one of the five Mr. Broadfoot mentioned; and I suppose I was chosen also upon the assumption that the acute awareness of the problems of such writing have not faded yet into the oblivion of the past or have been deliberately forgotten. Perhaps, however, now or never could I say as Edgar Allan Poe did in the "Philosophy of Composition" that at no time do I have "the least difficulty in recalling to mind the progressive steps" of the composition. It may be for this very reason that literary critics have for so long insisted that Poe's remarkable analysis

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of his procedure in writing "The Raven" should not be taken literally.

I will not be guilty of Poe's dogmatism. These remarks are, however, an attempt to recall the progressive steps, with due attention, I hope, being given to the problems encountered in my writing of *Lengthened Shadows: A History of Gardner-Webb College, 1907-1956*, a title inspired by Ralph Waldo Emerson's famous definition of an institution. I have also set down certain cardinal principles which I feel should guide every writer of local history, whether that history be one of a college or not.

Arnold Toynbee has said that "the only good reason for writing a book is because [*sic*] one's wish to write it is a master passion. The wish has to be masterful because the work is tormenting, as every writer knows." On the basis of Toynbee's generalizations I should never have written the history of Gardner-Webb College. In the first place my writing it did not grow out of a master passion. It was virtually an assigned task. The English Department of the college was asked by the Steering Committee of the Gardner-Webb Golden Anniversary Celebration to prepare a history of the college from its inception as a denominational high school to its Golden Anniversary year as one aspect of the college's semi-centennial celebration. I readily accepted "for the department." Even then, according to Toynbee, it is a wonder the book was written. Perhaps, though, the necessity of getting it written and published by the Golden Anniversary year 1957 provided the incentive which the absence of the tormenting master passion would have provided if it has been present.

Materials for local history are where you find them—at least, that was my experience in running down and collecting the materials which went into *Lengthened Shadows*. I set the end of the academic year 1955-1956 as the deadline for having all the material gathered. The chore which the assembling of materials and the preparation of the notes can be was considerably lightened by two efficient young ladies who typed many five-by-eight note cards. I had only to point out to them what I wished copied.

It developed that there was a real scarcity of materials concerning the first thirty years of the school's existence. When the Memorial Building burned in 1937, the records of the literary societies and many other valuable records went up in smoke. Fortunately, a complete file of the minutes of the Kings Mountain Baptist Association—perhaps the only such complete file in existence—is housed in the Gardner-Webb Library. But the annual reports of the school contained in the printed minutes are just that—reports. Such reports are seldom written from a human-interest angle, although these proved to be valuable sources of “facts and figures.”

Consequently, I turned to other sources and in other directions for the flesh to put on the bony facts and figures. Happily, the wife of the first principal of the school, Mrs. J. D. Huggins, Sr., to whom *Lengthened Shadows* is dedicated, is still living. Through almost all of the school's history she has been intimately connected with it. And though then seventy-five years of age, she began to record her recollections and to fill in the gaps with information she was able to obtain from living alumni of the school and from sources at her disposal. Mrs. Huggins' name should have appeared, perhaps, on the title page as well as on the dedicatory page.

Then, too, there were available the school catalogues through the years. Some letters touching on the school's past history are extant. And, of course, I interviewed people who could recall in a special way specific activities and events of those early years—activities and events in which they played a part. Special forms, seeking specific information, were sent to all living ex-presidents of the school, for whom addresses were available, asking for definite information about their administrations. It goes without saying that newspaper stories through the years and the minutes of the trustees, extant only since about 1932, proved invaluable sources, as did the annual and semiannual reports of President Phil Elliott to the trustees. I could catalogue other sources, but perhaps these will suffice to indicate something of where and how I sought materials for the story I set out to tell.

By the end of May, 1956, the materials were in hand and in usable form. At least, at this point, I was running on sched-

ule. The task confronting me then was the writing of a readable story—a story written in an informal style, a story without scholarly paraphernalia, a story which, while accurate, would play up those human-interest stories which abound in the history of any school which has reached its fiftieth anniversary year. As I said in the Preface to *Lengthened Shadows*, “I have attempted to sprinkle a little coloring here and there. I hope, however, that the accuracy of this history has not been distorted by the coloring nor the coloring dimmed by the accuracy.” In short, I was vain enough to hope that the book would be read; and within certain limits, I did whatever I thought would give the book a popular appeal. I even hope that a light vein of humor can be detected coming to the surface frequently throughout the book.

I have on more than one occasion referred to the writing of the Gardner-Webb story was a “sandwiched” job—that is, the writing of it was “sandwiched in” among the various things I would have done anyway. I was a member of the visiting English faculty at Appalachian State Teachers College for both 1956 summer sessions. Before, during, and after the classes in which I taught English literature and advanced composition, I worked on the history. When the Appalachian summer sessions were over, I went to Florida for a visit, taking along with me my notes and manuscript; and after getting sunburned at Clearwater Beach too much to continue that folly, I stayed inside and wrote. Back at Gardner-Webb for the fall session, I yet had an incomplete story. But the Preface, which I think I wrote last, is dated October 30, 1957. If a manuscript can acquire some of the flavor from the environment in which it was written, there should be some mountain breezes sweetened through the balsams and hemlocks, and some Gulf Coast sea breeze apparent in the book.

The form that the book took was almost an organic one. The materials fell logically into four divisions—the movement which brought the school into existence, the period during which the school was a high school, the period during which it was Boiling Springs Junior College, and the period since 1942 that it has been Gardner-Webb College. All of the various charters of the school's existence appear in the

Appendices as do lists of faculty members and trustees from the beginning of the institution, along with enrollment and graduation figures through the years. To Mrs. Dorothy Washburn Hamrick, Registrar, goes most of the credit for the lists. I am happy to say that I was spared that type of tedious work.

A great deal of care should go into the writing of any history, and I feel that a college history should be no exception. The facts left to themselves do not speak; and as Carl Becker said in his famous speech before the American Historical Association, "the historian who could restate without shaping . . . (the facts) would, by submerging and suffocating the mind, accomplish the superfluous task of depriving human experience of all significance." The story of Gardner-Webb College has been colored by my own mind and imagination. I don't think it could have been otherwise. James C. Malin in his book *On The Nature of History* says that "the facts of history do not exist for any historian until he creates them, and into every fact he creates some part of his individual experience must enter." One critic of Toynbee has found that Toynbee, as he put it, "has awakened the historic imagination from its dogmatic slumber . . . and through innumerable flashes of insight, suggestive reinterpretations, and fertile hypotheses he has demonstrated by his own example the worth of historiography in the classic manner." I do not intend, of course, any comparison between Toynbee and me. I simply wish to point out what I feel to be one of the inescapable facts of historiography and to argue that a writer of a college history should make the most of his opportunity to use—and legitimately so—his historical imagination. In fact, Becker is reported to have "denied that historical facts possess order or meaning in themselves; they must be given meaning by the creative act of the mind of the historian."

I selected the materials that went into the story I set out to tell. I suppose any writer of a college history is told stories, many very good ones, by those who preface their stories with the remark, "But you can't publish this." But even that which can be published must be selected. As an eminent historian has said, "neither the value nor the dignity

of history need suffer by regarding it as a foreshortened and incomplete representation of the reality that once was, an unstable pattern of remembered things redesigned and newly colored to suit the convenience of those who make use of it." And again I would remind the writer of a college history that he should ever keep in mind those who will "make use of it." The writer of a college history should employ all the devices of literary art to enhance his story—that is, if he wishes his work to be read and enjoyed.

Many college histories are only half finished when the manuscript is completed, and this is especially true if the book is to be published privately. The trustees of Gardner-Webb decided that the college would publish the book, and I was expected to work out details with the printer. Time was of the essence. We needed the book in a few months after the manuscript was completed to kick off the Golden Anniversary celebration. A commercial publisher, in this case, would not have moved fast enough. Sometime in November, 1956, a contract was signed with the Rowan Printing Company of Salisbury, North Carolina, and in February, 1957, the first shipment of books arrived. There was co-operation all around: I would receive proofsheets, both galley and page, and have them back to the printer perhaps the next day. I even checked some page proofs in the print shop.

I wanted an attractive book; and since I did not wish to trust this aspect of the publication of the book to the printer, I realized that I would have to design the book if it were to be attractive in the way I wanted it to be. The printer was very co-operative, and together we selected type fonts and sizes. Even the thickness and quality of the paper had to be decided upon. The type of paper to be used for the dust jacket had to be chosen; the number of colors to appear on it had to be agreed upon; and it had to be designed. It even had to be decided whether or not the illustrations would be tipped in or put in by the wrap-around method. And, of course, the title page, the dedicatory page, the table of contents, and so on had to be designed. I even received samples of cloth for the binding. Everybody should publish at least

one book if for no other reason than the educational value of the experience.

Some of my friends have indicated that they feel that mine in writing the history of Gardner-Webb was quite a chore—a “job,” as they put it. In reality it wasn’t. I received wonderful co-operation from several sources, including the printer, and the task wasn’t, at times, at all bad. This last statement I perhaps should not have made. It may get back to the Gardner-Webb College trustees, and they may want to reclaim the honorarium they gave me for writing, designing, negotiating with the printer, and seeing the book through the press.

A NORTH CAROLINA GAELIC BARD

By CHARLES W. DUNN*

John Macrae emigrated from Scotland to North Carolina in 1774 and there composed a Gaelic lullaby for his daughter which is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest extant Gaelic poem composed in North America. He was born in Kintail and was called in Gaelic "Iain mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Fhearchair" (John son of Murchadh son of Fearchar). He was imprisoned for his British sympathies during the Revolution and died in captivity. He is presumably related to the numerous Macraes, McRees, etc. still living in North Carolina.

In my *Highland Settler* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1953), page 28, I have translated one stanza of this interesting song, but because of its significance to students of North Carolina's cultural history the entire song merits publication in translation. The Gaelic original appears in the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards from 1715 to 1765* (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1892), page 258. Since this work is highly inaccessible, I have also included the Gaelic, revised in orthography according to modern usage and with indication of vowel lengths.

The meter is the four-stressed *amhran*. In each stanza the final stressed syllables of all four lines assonate together. The second and third stressed syllables in each line also assonate in stanzas four and five (and less regularly in some lines of the other stanzas). The tune is the traditional Scottish air "The Yellow-Haired Laddie," which Burns made famous with his "Flow gently, sweet Afton." Further research may reveal how Sinclair recovered the song. His version presumably represents the original quite faithfully even if a long oral tradition lies between composer and editor, for Gaelic singers are exceptionally reverent in the transmission of their oral repertoire. Indeed, not only do they memorize the text

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verbatim, but they also pass on the name of the composer and the circumstances of its composition.

DUANAG ALTRIUM

1. Dean cadalan samhach, a chuilean mo rùin.
Dean fuireach mar tha thu, 's tu 'n dràs an àit ùr.
Bidh òigearan againn làn beirtis us cliù.
'S ma bhios tu nad airidh, 's leat fear-eigin diu.
2. Gur h-ann an America 'tha sinn an dràs
Fo dhubhar an coille nach teirig gu bràth.
Nuair 'dh 'fhalbhas an dùlachd 's a thionndas am blàths,
Bidh cnothan us ubhlan 's and siùcar a' fàs.
3. 'S ro bheag orm féin cuid de'n t-sluagh a th' ann,
Le'n coitichean drogaid, 's ad mhór air an ceann,
Le'm briogaisean goirid, 's iad sgoilte gu'm boinn;
Chan fhaicear an t-osan, 's e 'bhochdainn sin leam.
4. Tha sinne 'nar n-Innseanaich cinnteach gu leòir;
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhi h-aon againn beò.
Coin-alluidh us béisdean ag éigheach 's gach fròig;
Gu bheil sinn nar n-éiginn bhon thréig sinn Rìgh Deòrs'.
5. Mo shoraidh le fàilte, 'Chinn-tàile nam bó,
Far 'n d'fhuair mi greis m' àrach 's mi 'm phàisde beag òg.
Bhiodh fleasgaichean donn' air am bonnaibh ri ceòl
Us nionagan dualach 's an gruaidh mar an ròs.
6. An toiseach an fhoghair bu chridheil ar sunnd;
Gheibht' fiadh as an fhireach us bradan a grunn;
Bhiodh luingeas an sgadain a' tighinn fo shiùil
Le 'n lasgairean tapaidh nach faicteadh fo mhùig.

LULLABY

1. Sleep softly, my darling beloved.
Stay as you are, now that you're in a new land.
We'll find suitors abounding in wealth and fame,
and if you are worthy you shall have one of them.
2. In America now are we,
in the shade of the forest for ever unfailing.
When the winter departs and the warmth returns,
nuts and apples and the sugar will grow.

3. Little do I like some of those who are here,
with their drugget coats and tall hats on their heads,
and their scanty breeches split to the belt.
Hose never are seen, and a misery it seems to me.
4. We're turned into Indians surely enough.
In the dark of the trees not one of us will be left alive,
with wolves and beasts howling in every lair.
We've come into ruin since we left King George.
5. My fondest farewell to you, Kintail with your cows,
where I spent my time of upbringing when I was a little, young
nipper.
There would be dark-haired lads dancing heel and toe to the music,
and lasses with their flowing tresses and cheeks like the rose.
6. At the onset of harvest-time our joy would be hearty;
we'd get deer from the moors and salmon from the deeps;
the herring fleet would come in under sail
with her daring heroes who never showed gloom.

Other songs by John Macrae are to be found in Sinclair's *Gaelic Bards from 1715*, pages 254-257, and in his *Mactalla nan Tur* (Sydney, Nova Scotia; Nova Scotia; 1901), pages 53-54.

THE ROAD TO GETTYSBURG
THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF LEONIDAS TORRENCE
OF THE GASTON GUARDS.

Edited by HASKELL MONROE*

For some years there has been a small, unidentified diary among the L. C. Glenn Papers in the noted Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. Although brief and succinct, it is noteworthy because it gives an impression of the tiring march of Lee's army northward into Pennsylvania in June, 1863.

An examination of the other materials in the Glenn Papers indicates that the diary was kept by Leonidas Torrence. A number of letters from Torrence are in the Glenn Papers and the similarity of handwriting, misspelling, and phrasing indicates the correct identity of the author. He was the son of William Wilson Torrence (1808-1875) and Sarah Ann (Wilson) Torrence, who lived in Gaston County, North Carolina, just across the State line from South Carolina. When talk of secession and possible war with the Yankees arose, young Torrence, like many of his friends in the area of the Unity Presbyterian Church, joined the "Gaston Guards."¹ This unit became Company H of the Thirteenth North Carolina Regiment, a regiment made up of volunteers and one that was already formed by the date of the secession of the Old North State.²

Leonidas wrote often to his family when he went away with Company H. His first impressions of army life were pleasant and he enjoyed the travel, especially his first visit to Raleigh. Like many of his comrades, he thought the fight would be quickly ended and he would soon return to his family and friends. But also like many fellow Confederate

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¹ F. B. McDowell, *The Broad Axe and the Forge, or, A Narrative of Unity Church Neighborhood* (Charlotte, 1897), 19.

² Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* . . . (Raleigh, 5 volumes, 1901), II, 181-182, 186, hereinafter cited as Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*.

soldiers, he contracted the measles and spent many days recuperating, first in Richmond and later in Charlottesville. The frequent letters home to Gaston County, many with postscripts to his sister, Sarah, reflected his awareness of growing seriousness of the conflict, an awareness which gradually convinced him that the war would be painfully long and costly.

After a winter spent near Manassas, the Regiment retired to the area of Yorktown, where it saw its first combat. With the Conscription Act in effect in May, 1862, the Thirteenth Regiment became the Twenty-third Regiment, North Carolina Troops. Torrence participated with this unit in the violent battles before Richmond in the summer of 1862, where at Seven Pines, seventeen of the Regiment's twenty-seven officers were casualties.³ Then he marched to Antietam and back again in the autumn. It was after this campaign that the Twenty-third North Carolina was placed in a reorganized brigade under Brigadier General Alfred Iverson and Leonidas went home on what was apparently his only leave from duty. While there, his friend and mess-mate, W. J. O'Daniel, wrote him to bring needed provisions on his return to camp. The Regiment was held in reserve at Fredericksburg, but managed a battle of its own later in the winter in the "great snow battle," with Dole's Georgia Brigade.⁴ Leonidas liked the comfort of his winter quarters along the Rappahannock, but with the coming of spring, he saw little chance of peace and yearned for home. Later, the horrors of Chancellorsville left him shocked, for he recorded the injury and death of many men who had been his neighbors in Gaston County and were now his fellow infantrymen.⁵

In June, 1863, Torrence was one of the thousands of hopeful soldiers who marched into Pennsylvania. In typical infantry tradition, he complained of sore feet. On June 4 he began his diary while pausing near Fredericksburg. The

³ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 194-200; *Western Democrat* (Charlotte), February 3, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Western Democrat*.

⁴ Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 225-227.

⁵ *Western Democrat*, May 19, 1863; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 227-232.

small pages of the diary recorded events until July 4, the approximate date of Torrence's death. While on the march, he still found time to write home, if only to complain of "verry sore feet." After almost a month of marching, the Twenty-third North Carolina and four other regiments of Iverson's Brigade neared Gettysburg on July 1. In mid-afternoon the Regiment moved from its position on Seminary Ridge toward a stone wall which was apparently undefended. As it neared the wall, a Union brigade suddenly rose up and annihilated the Confederates at close range. The casualties, which numbered more than half the Regiment, "lay dead and wounded in a line as straight as a dress parade," and included Corporal Leonidas Torrence of Company H, struck with a "long minnie ball" in the head and thigh.⁶ When he fell, "lying in a hollow in a verry mudy place," his friend O'Daniel remained to care for him.

When the Confederates prepared to fall back, O'Daniel hesitantly left his comrade. A doctor stayed with the Confederate wounded, but there was little he could do for Torrence. When the young man realized that death was near, he asked that all his belongings except his testament and handkerchief be sent to his mother. The details of these painful last days came in letters from O'Daniel, who forwarded the belongings to Mrs. Torrence.

Like so many of his generation, Leonidas Torrence had volunteered early in the war and saw it turn into bloody horror. Also like so many others, the war cost him his life.

⁶ Varina D. Brown, *A Colonel at Gettysburg and Spotsylvania* (Columbia, 1931), 199; *Western Democrat*, July 28, 1863; William F. Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865* (Albany, 1893), 570, hereinafter cited as Fox, *Regimental Losses*; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 235-238; Abner Doubleday, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg* (New York, 1896), 141-143, hereinafter cited as Doubleday, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*.

LETTERS OF LEONIDAS TORRENCE

Geares burg [Garysburg] N. C.⁷ July 20 1861

Dear Pa

I avail my self of the present opportunity of writing you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] At present the Company has not got stout since they had the Measels.⁸ They are all able to be about a little. Richard Featherston Died this morning[.] He has bee[n] bad ever since I came here. He was not stout be fore he took the measels. I think ther[e] was different Diseases working on him. The Dr. put a blister on his Breast. I dressed it and attended to it all the time[.] I got along with it verry well. R. H. Reede was just taking the measels when I came here[.] He is well a gain. None of the boys that came with me have had the Measels yet[.] I am well pleased with the Camp and the longer I stay the better I like it. We left Charlotte Tues[day] night about 10 o clock[.] We got to Raleigh Wednesday morning at 7 o clock. We stayed there til 7 o clock Thursday morning. Raleigh is not much of a town[.]⁹ I was in the state house [and think] it is a large & fine house[.]¹⁰ I was in the Asilum[.] It is the largest house I ever saw[.] I expected to see something great when I went there but I saw nothing but a crowd of crazy men[.]¹¹ They appeared to be enjoying there

⁷ Situated at the junction of railroads from Norfolk, Petersburg, and Wilmington, this small town was about four miles north of the Roanoke River.

⁸ On July 17 seven companies of the Regiment had left the "Camp of Instruction" in freight cars, bound for Richmond. Because of the prevalence of measles in their ranks, companies C, D, and H were left behind. These units were hard hit by disease, as were many others in the Confederate Army in the first months of the war. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 190; H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1958), 22, hereinafter cited as Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Indianapolis, 1943), 251, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Johnny Reb*.

⁹ "The city of Raleigh . . . is a pleasing town—the streets wide and lined with trees, and many white wooden mansions all having little courtyards of flowers and shrubbery around them." Frederick Law Olmstead, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States . . .* (New York, 2 volumes, 1863), I, 318, hereinafter cited as Olmstead, *Journey in Slave States*.

¹⁰ "The State-House is, in every way, a noble building, constructed of brownish-gray granite, in Grecian style. It stands on an elevated position, near the center of the city in a square field, which is shaded by some tall oaks." Olmstead, *Journey in Slave States*, I, 318-319.

¹¹ As a result of the impetus of the movement led by Dorothea L. Dix, the legislature passed a bill providing for the State Asylum in 1848. The institution opened in 1858 with a long, large impressive building of three stories, built of brick on a granite foundation. Some 250 patients were usually in residence in this establishment whose superintendent was Dr. Edward C. Fisher. L. L. Polk, *Handbook of North Carolina . . .* (Raleigh, 1879), 177-180; Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 2 volumes, 1908, 1925), II, 473-475; Hugh T. Lefler (ed.), *North Carolina History, Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 212-216.

selves verry well. The Manager told us that there were 192 people in the Asilum [and] he said it was against their rules to let any person in but as we were volunteers and mite not be back a gane he would take us in[.] They have a place for the ladies and a place for the gents[.] They are all locked up with just men enough to take care of them. We got to Gearesburg Thursday [e]vening[.] I like this place verry well but Weldon is the Dirtyest & Sicklyest looking place I ever saw and stinks like a hogpen[.] Large companys of Troops pass here every day[.]¹² I expect we will Start to Richmond this wek[.] 7 Companyes of our regiments are at Manasus Junction[.]¹³ I suppose we will go there before we stop[.] The Company is all anxious to get in to a battle and say they cannot go home satisfied with out a fite. I thin[k] we will get a fite before we go home[.]

Our fare is good enough for any boddy. We hav plenty of meal, Flour Bacon Molases Sugar Coffee and Rice. J. J. Wilson has learned to Sup Coffee, but I cannot learn. I took a few sups one morning and felt bad all day. I must close[.] I would like to hear from you all but I can not tell you where to direct a letter to[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Gearesburg Northampton [County] N. C.
August the 2nd. 1861

Dear Mother

I avail my self of the present oppottunity of writing you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] Jefison Wallace and William Smith has the measels[.] The rest of the Gaston Guard are able to be about though some of them are not verry stout[.] I have enjoyed my self finely since I have left home. We have plenty of Flour Meal Bacon Rice Fish Coffee Sugar and Molasses. When I came here I weyed 158 lbs[.,] now I weigh 167 lbs. Crops look verry well here, I was supprised to see so much Cotton here[.] It looks like South Carolina. This a level sandy country[.] The soil does not look verry productive though there are

¹² Weldon, which many travelers disliked because of its poor facilities, was one of the most important railroad towns in the South. Here three lines converged: the Seaboard and Roanoke, the Raleigh and Gaston, and the Wilmington and Weldon. Robert C. Black, *Railroads in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), *passim*; Mary Boykin Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie* edited by Ben Ames Williams (Boston, 1949), 323.

¹³ The other companies of the Regiment had not reached Manassas at this time, but left Richmond for that destination on July 21. During the night, they reached the scene of the first major battle of the war, where they were shocked by the sight of killed and wounded Confederates all about them. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 190-191.

fine crops on it now and the people appear to be verry wealthy. We expect to start to Menassus to morrow[.] The Capt is gone home and the Comppany is so keen to go that we will not wate for him. L. C. Torrence and J. C. Roberson have not got right stout since they had the Measels. S. L. McClure, W. D. Hill and J. J. Wilson are well and the rest of the Volunteers from that Naborhood [also.] The Cars pass here everyday loaded with volunteers and very often twice a day[.] There was a Regiment passed here a few days ago [in which] one of the Soldiers told me that the Ladies in his naborhood had formed themselves in to Companyes and were drilling and said they would guard the young men that would not volunteer[.] I would like to hear from home and hear how you are all getting along but I suppose they would let no letters pass after we leave here, but if they do I will write again and tell you where to writ[e] to[.]

Tell Sis to save me a Watermelon til I come home for they are verry scarce here[.] We have to pay 50 cts for one of any size here, 2 cts apiece for Rostenears [roasting ears,] 25 cts for Chickens the size of a Patridge, 20 cts a dozen for Eggs and other things according[.] I wrote to W. J. since I came here. I was glad to hear that Capt Edwards had got up such a large Company of Regulars and supprised to hear of some that had joined him[.] Tell W. C. D. McClure to make up his Company and come on[.] Tell John when he comes to bring me a watermelon[.] I must close as it is getting late and we have our baggage to pack up to night[.]

Adieu
Leonidas Torrence

Richmond Aug. 31st A. D. 1861

Dear Pa

I avail myself of the present opportunity of writing you a few lines which will in form you that I am well. J. Forress and myself took the Measels the 4th [of] Aug[ust.] We stayed in Camp until the 9th[.] The Company went on to Manassa¹⁴ and we were sent to the Hospital[.]¹⁵ W. R. Wilson stayed to wait on us[.] We were verry well attende[d] tho we got verry week. J. Forress is mending very slow[.] He is able to walk about a little[.] E. M. Berry, T. J. Baird, [and] D. G. J. Glenn stayed

¹⁴ The Regiment moved to Camp Wigfall, one and a quarter miles from the Junction, where it suffered severely from disease, especially from typhoid fever.

¹⁵ With the first weeks of combat, Richmond became the "Hospital Center of the Confederacy," Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 50-51.

with us night before last. W. W. Wilson went on with them. I am staying with Jessey[.] I do not know how long we will stay here[.] We have had no word from the Company since they left here. Cousin Andrew Wilson stayed with us Tuesday night last on his way to Manassus[.] He had been sent here with Measels[.] He went out in the Country about 20 miles from here [and] he was well pleased with [the] trip [.] He said he could stay as long as he wanted and not cost him a cent[.] I was with Cousin J. T. Suggs yesterday. He is in the 2nd. Reg. Florida Volunteers. Flour is worth \$5 per bbl.[.] Corn 60 cts per Bushel[.] Coffee 40 cts per lb.[.] Salt \$7 per sack.[.] Green Peaches from 50 cts to \$1.00 per Peck. Watermelons are not so high. Eggs 20 cts. Doz. Chickens 20 to 30 cts[.] Beef about 12 cts [a pound]. We have plenty of Beef Mutton, Bacon, Cabbag Irish potatoes, Bakers Bread Tea and Coffee. We are staying at [the] St. Charles Hotel.¹⁶ There are some 3 or 400 Soldiers in this House and have room aplenty. The Sick are well attended to here. Tell L. C. Torrence when he goes to Menassas he will have to stay in Richmond all night, and if he will come to [the] St Charles Hotel he will find me in room 7, if I am not gon. It will not cost him any thing to stay here. I would like to hear from Home oftener than I do. I cannot tell you w[h]ere to direct [letters] to now. I must close. Yours affectionately,

Leonidas Torrence

Wel Sis, I was glad to hear from you and to hear that you were all well. I want you to take care [of] little Betty til I come home and when you write again let me know how her and Katy are doing. I have as much clothing with me as I want to carry. I must close. Writ soon. No more at present But [I] remain your affectionate Brother.

L. Torrence

Pa you said something about F. Massey getting my wheat[.] He said something to me about getting some at \$1.00 per Bushel, but I did not make any engagement with him. I do not care about selling it.

Richmond, Sept 9th A. D., 1861

Dear Pa

I am well at present thoug I have not gained my strength since I had the Measels. Jessey, Forress, is still improveing but verry

¹⁶ Although not so noted as the Spotswood, the St. Charles was one of Richmond's better hotels and was frequented by many visitors.

slow[.] We expect to start to Manasa tomorroe. There are a great many Soldiers in the hospitals[.] There are 5 or 6 Hospitals here and they are all full of Soldiers. They are verry well attended to but a good many of them die. They have Measels, Mumps, & Typoid fever[.] Dr. Tuff attended me and Jessey.¹⁷ He sais he has a House and furniture in Washington and if we will go there he will winter us. Of course we will go[.] I messed with the crowd that I came here with[.] I do not know who I will get with when I go back to camp[.]

I would like to hear from you all, but I cannot tell you where to direct [mail] to[.] Some of the company will be writing back to Gaston, and as soon as you find out where we are[.] be certain to write[.] I must close. S. L. McClure was well the 9th of August[.] I have not saw him since. I saw J. T. Suggs last Friday[.] He was well[.] His Regiment is camped here. Nomore. But [I] remain your affectionate Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Well, Sis, I recon you want to know something about the war, and what the Yankeys are doing. Some 2 or 3,000 of them are here in the tobacco Factoryes, [and] if you was to see one you would be like the little Boy that went to town to see a Lawyer and when he saw him he thought he was a man. If you were to see a Yankey you would think it was a man to[o]. (They are nothing more than other men.) As for the war I can tell you nothing about it. Some men here think it will continue 4 years. others think it will end before Spring. They are busy here making Guns, Lords, Cannons, Bumshells, &c. I must close. Your affectionate Brother.

L. Torrence

To Wm. W. Torrence

Campbell's, Fairfax County, Va.¹⁸ Sept. 20th, 61

I am well at present. J. J. Wilson & S. L. McClure are verry low with fever and do not appear to mend. Logan Stow is verry low. I had no idea that he would recover a few days ago[.] He looks now like he mite get well. James Shanen, Will Ford and

¹⁷ With the larger hospitals such as Chimborazo and Winder, not yet organized, the lack of efficiency in early Confederate medical practices led to high mortality rates. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 244-269.

¹⁸ During this period, the Regiment made its first march when it moved to Camp Ellis, five miles from Camp Wigfall. Here, the North Carolinians drew their first picket duty and soon adjusted to the routine of war. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 192.

H. A. Torrence have been sick[.] They are getting some better[.] Some of the Boys have the Rheumatism. W. P. Hill, J. F. & W. M. Wilson[,] J D. Torrence, W. J. O'Daniel, J. E. Hill, J. C. Robinson and the rest of the Gaston Guards are well[.] I am in a Mess with J. B. F. Biddle, W. Warren[,] E. M. Berry, [and] J. L. Linebarger. I have not time to name all the mess. We are getting a long verry well[.] Our fair is ruff, though better than I expected when I left Home. I would like to have a pair of jones [jeans?] pants if you have any chance to send them. If not, I can do with out them. Write soon. Direct [mail] to Menassas Junction[,] Virginia[,] 13th Reg., N. C. Volunteers, Company H, in care of Col Hoke. I must close as it is getting so dark that I cannot see.

Leonidas Torrence

Oct 30 A. D. 1861

Charlottes ville, Va

Dear Pa

I have been verry low with Typhoid Pneumonia since I wrote to you though I am able to walk about a little now and improving verry fast. S. L. McClure has been sick since the 10th of August[.] He has had the Measels Chills, and fever and Mumps[.] He is getting better and can walk about right smart. We left the camp the 27 of Sept[ember]. I was sent here to nurse S. L. McClure.

F. M. Beatie & T. H. Johnston is about well again[.] Beatie started Home yesterday. J. J. Wilson was very bad with Typhoid Fever when we left camp. I heard since we came here that J. J. Wilson, T. N. Craig[,] J. M. Hindrick and others had been sent to Richmond [,] also that the Regiment had moved [with]in 1½ miles of Fairfax C. H. and then retreated back to Bullrunn and burnt about \$1,500 worth of property consisting of Tents, Clothing Boxes, Comissary [stores] &c.¹⁹

L. Torrence

Charlottesville Va Oct 31st 1861

Well Sis

I would like verry much to se you but the Road is so long that I cannot come. I would like to have been at home when I was sick. I was taken with Typhoid Pneumonia the 3rd day of this

¹⁹ At Fairfax Court House, the Regiment was four miles north of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad, a position which menaced the Federal defenses of Washington.

month[.] I am nearly well now[.] My right side has been so sore that I could not lye on it since I was taken[sick.]

I can lye on it a little now. I was as stout an[d] hearty as ever I was before I took sick. I weighed 170 lbs. I sent word with F. M. Beatie for a pair of Flannel Drawers and Shirt an[d] one pair of Janes Pants, and 3 pair of socks. If I was at home I would have a Suit of Janes. Tell Mr. W. C. D. McClure to keep that Watermelon for me and Sam and if we dont come after [it] by Christmas to bring it to us[.]

I want you to write to me and give me all the news about home[.] I have received no letter from home since the 24th of August. Write soon and direct [mail] to Charlottesville, in care of Dr. Allen. Do not put any Regiment or Company on it[.] If you do not write soon you may [mail] direct to Manassas, 13 Reg. N.C.[.] Company H. Sam and me may come home about Christmas, but I do not know whether we will or not yet[.] for our trip is paying 50 per cent[.] And we are verry content[.] I must close[.] Be certain to write soon[.] Nomore at present But I remain your affectionate Brother[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Sarah P. Torrence

Charlottesville Va. Nov 17th, A. D. 1861

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am still improveing in health. I have had a few chills but they are stopped now. S. L. McClure is still improveing in health[.] T. H. Johnston has gon back to the Regt [.] I do not know when Sam and me will be able to go[,] though I hope it will not be long[.] We can runn about over town now and go where we pleas[.] We heard yesterday that they were fighting at Manassas[.] I do not know whether they are or not. The news came by Telegraph. I have had no word from the Camp since I wrote to you. When I wrote before I sent for a Flannel Shirt and Drawers[,] Janes Pants and 3 pair Sox[.] I want you to send me my over coat and close neck't vest peddler[,] if you have any chance. You can get nothing here with out paying three times the worth of it[.] Common coarse shoes here bring from \$4 to \$7 a pair[.] I would like to have a pair of home made Boots, if any of the Shoe makers could make a pair to fit me[.] The Boots I left at home is about the right size. If you have any made[,] be sure to have them made large enough and broad heels on them[.] I heard since I came here that we were to get \$21 a piece and find our own winter clothing[.]

November 19th

Ther is a good deal of sickness about her[e.] At this time there are 2 or 3 hundred sick Soldiers at the Delavan Hospital²⁰ [where] about two dies every day. I am staying at the Delavan. I want you to write to me. I have had no word from home since the 24 of Aug. I have wrote to you 5 or 6 times since then[.] Be sure to write as soon as You get this[.] Direct [mail] to Manassas Junction[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

When you write send me the Receipt to make Pills to cure the Chills[.] I expect to start back to the Regt Friday.

Leonidas Torrence

Dec. 6th. A. D. 1861

Camp near Union Mills, Va²¹

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] At present ther is considerable sickness in the Company. W. P. Hill[,] J. B. F. Riddle and a good many others have been sent to the Hospital. W. J. O'Daniel and H. Torrence are not verry well. W. G. Warren[,] M. F. Groves, and J. C. Kiser have the Mumps. L. C. Torrence is well[.] I left S. L. McClure at Charlottesville the 26th of Nov[ember.] He was getting tolerbly stout[.] I did not get to see Uncle Ezra Wilson when he was here[.] What clothing he brot me was sent to Manassas and all the other Baggage the Company could not carry as they were expecting a fight. We have had no fight yet[.] They say we will have one shortly[.] I do not know whether we will or not[.] Our Reg is going out on picket gard to morrow. We will be gone about 3 days[.] I did not get the letter you sent with Uncle Ezra till yesterday or I would have answered it sooner[.] It was sent to Manassas in a Trunk with the Company papers. T. N. Craig²² being the only Commissioned Officer here, [I] could not get it

²⁰ The buildings of a pre-war academy at Charlottesville became the Delavan Hospital, which seemed to be filled with patients throughout most of the war.

²¹ Here on Bull Run, near the Alexandria and Orange Railroad bridge, the North Carolinians dug in for the winter and built huts to protect themselves from the abnormally severe winter. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 192.

²² Second Lieutenant, Company H.

any sooner[.] E. M. Farris²³ and Bob Rackford²⁴ have resigned and gone Home[.] The Company was glad to get shut of them. The People of Gaston thought there was no such man as E. M. Farris when the Company was making up and I dont think so either.

I have got part of the Clothes that you sent me and I expect [I] will get the ballance[.] I am well pleased with them[.] My vest fits as well as it can[.] My pants are too small though I can ware them[.] I want you to send me another Pair of Gloves as I have not got the ones you sent me yet[.] You said you sent me a letter by W. M. Ferguson[.] I did not know that he had been here til I got your letter as I was in Richmond at that time[.] W. J. O'Daniel says Ferguson had the letter and said he would stop in Richmond as he went home and give it to me. I have had no letter from Home since the 24th of August until now[.] I do not know how many I have sent home since then[.] Tell Pa to send me a pair of Boots, if he has any chance[.] I can draw shoes here but they are verry little acount. Be sure to have them made large enough with broad heels on them[.] Tell him to draw me money there[.]

I will close as I have nothing but my kne to write on and my Eyes are smoked till I can scarcely see to write at all[.] Tell W. J. to write to me[.] Tell Sis I cant write to her now but For her to write to me[.] She wrote to me about Kate, Betty, and John. John is a new name to me. Nomore at present but [I] remain your Obiden[t] Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

When you write Direct [mail] to Co H the 23rd Regt in care of Col Hoke.²⁵ The legs of my Pants were large enough [but] the Waistban likes about 2 inches of meting round me[.] The rest of my cloth[e]s fits verry well[.]

Dec. 13th. A. D. 1861

Camp near Union Mills, Fairfax County, Va.

Dear Pa

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well at present[.] The Co is generaly well. W. P. Hill, J. B. F. Riddle and several others that I have not time to name have been sent to

²³ Captain E. M. Faires of the "Gaston Guards," commissioned June 12, 1861; resigned December 1, 1861.

²⁴ First Lieutenant R. M. Ratchford, commissioned June 12, 1861; resigned December 1, 1861.

²⁵ Colonel John F. Hoke.

the Hospital[.] We heard from most of them a few days ago[.] J. F. Glenn Died last Sunday[.] The rest are all better. S. L. McClure is well[.] He has got back to camp. We have done a great deal of work here throwing up breast works. I worked all day yesterday throwing up a Battery[.] We have orders to keep three days Rations in our haversacks and be redy to march at a minnets warning[.] They say that we are certain to have a Battle here in a short time[.] It is reported that England has sent a truce Flag in to Richmond to see on what terms President Davis will make Peace and that the North has sent in a truce Flag for Peace and wants the Old Union preserved[.] I dont think that will ever be done[.]²⁶ I sent word in the last letter I wrote home for you to send me a pair of Boots with J. J. Wilson if you had any chance to get them made[.] If you get them made be sure to have them made large enough. I heard there was a heavy tax laid on Gaston for the Volunteers[.] If you can get what is made up for me you can keepe it. I have a little here that I will send to you if I have any chance. There are so many Letters gets miscarried that I am afraid to send it in one. I sent S. L. McClure three dollars in a letter when he was at the Hospital and he never got it. I borrowed \$2 from E. M. Berry before I got my money and did not get to pay him before he left. I wish you would pay him if you have the money to spair. Sis said you were about to trade Fan or Polly²⁷ one. I think you had better put some of them [creditors] off if you can[.] I would like to keep the mule though I am not particular about it[.] Groceries of all kinds are very dear here[.] Salt is about \$12 per sack. Coffee 50 cts [per] lbs[.] Bacon about 30 cts per lb. I must close. Write soon. Nomore at present, but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Well Sis

I received your letter last Sunday[.] I was glad to hear from you though sorry to hear that W. J. was so sick. I hope he is better before now. I am glad he is at home where you and Ma can wait on him[.] When I was sick I was at the Hospital with strangers that I had never saw before[.] They were verry good and kind to me[.] I faired much better than I expected to. I got my Over Coat[.] Ther was no apples in it[.] There was two pair

²⁶ Such rumors of peace were common throughout this period of the war. This particular instance may have resulted from the diplomatic repercussions arising from the Federal seizure of the Confederate emissaries to Europe, James Mason and John Slidell.

²⁷ Fan was apparently the family's only mule and Polly a mare.

sox in it[.] They were not branded[.] I got my pants and drawers and blanket. My vest fits verry well[.] drawers also. They are a little tite though [they] do verry well[.] My pants are too tite thoug I can wear them[.]

I have plenty of cloth[e]s to do me now[.] Tel Ma if she sends me another pair to make them a little larger[.] I have not got my other cloth[e]s yet. I think I will get them when we take Winter quarters[.] Ma said she would have sent me a coat but did not know whether I needed it or not[.] I would like to have one if she has any chance to send it to me[.] If not, I can do verry well with the one I have. I must close[.] Be certain to write when you receive this and let me know how W. J. is. Nomore at present but [I] remain your affectionate Brother.

L. Torrence
W. W. Torrence

Camp near Union Mills Va Jan 18th 1862

Dear Pa

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well. The Company is in better health than it has been since I came to it[.] We have had a good deal of Snow here this winter[.] It is raining to day[.] We have been here longer than any place we have been yet[.] We are putting up Winter quarters between Bull Run and Manassas Junction[.] It will be some time before we get them done[.] It has been reported that the yankeys would be here in a few days for the last two Months. I have not heard any thing about them for the last week[.] I do not think they will come before spring as the weather has got so bad that they cannot bring their Artillery here this winter[.] We fair verry well here[.] We get plenty of Beef and Flour. We get some Sugar and Coffee though it is beginning to come in small quantities.

I cannot tell you much about the prices of things here[.] Chickens brings from 50 to 75 cts per head Eggs from 50 to 60 cts per Doz Butter 75 cts per lb Milk from 15 to 25 cts per quart[.]

I have got my Cloth[e]s that Uncle Ezra brot me[.] They fit me verry well[.] I was needing them[.] I do not neede any thing in the way of Clothing now but a pair [of] Pants and Boots[.] The Roads here are over shoe mouth in mud. I have not drawn any thing yet but one Blanket Haver sack and Coat[.] If you send me any more Pants or Boots, be sure to have them large enough[.] I am flesheyer now than ever I was and I would rather have them too large as too small[.] I will

close for I have nothing to write on but my knee[.] I want you to write oftener than you have been doing[.] You wrote to me Wm. J. was sick and I have never heard whether he has got better or not[.] I wrote two letters to you and one to Ant Ruthy and have not received a letter from either of you since[.] No more at present but [I] remain your Obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Charlottesville Va March the 4th 1862

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines which will in form you that I have been verry sick since I wrote to you. I was taken down about the 15th [of] January with Pneumonia[.] Just as I was getting better of it I took the Typhoid Fever and was verry bad with it[.] The Sergeant of the Reg said that he would give me a Furlow to go home and stay till I got able for duty but we got orders the 25th of February to moove all the sick off that were not able to march as they would have to retreat or Fight in four days[.]²⁸ T. J. Wallas and my self were started off the 26th [of February] and got to Charlottesville the 27th[.] Wallas is verry bad with Plurasy[.] I have got able to walk about a little and would like to go Home but the Drs here will neither let me go Home nor go back to Camp[,] so I reckon I will not get to go Home till my time is out[.] Our fair is verry bad here and I do not like to stay here but I cannot help myself[.] I have had no word from the Company since I left Camp the Company was generally well when I left[.]

I got what Close J. J. Wilson brot me[.] They fit me verry well.

I got one pair [of] Pants one pair [of] flanel Drawers one Flannel Shirt one cotton Shirt[, an] Over Coat and vest one pair [of] Gloves three pair [of] Sox[,] of what Uncle Ezra brot and I reckon I will get the ballance when I get back to the Junction[.] I have as many Close here as I can take care of[.] I was glad to get what provision[s] you sent me by J. B. F. Biddle. J. M. Kendrick brot a fine chance of provision[s] for different ones of the company. John and David Glenn gave me as much Butter as I wanted to eat till Biddle came with mine[.] They were all verry good to me in camp and I faired better there than I do

²⁸ Joseph E. Johnston decided to withdraw his outnumbered troops to safer positions south of the Rappahannock. As the men of Company H left their winter quarters on March 8, they went on picket duty near Burke's Station. The following day, the Confederates abandoned their huge supply depot at Manassas, after having blown up and burned what they could not carry with them.

here[.] I must close for I am verry weak and nothing but my knee to write on[.] Write soon and let me hear from you. If you get this in the corse of a week direct [mail] to Charlottesville[.] if not[.] direct [mail] to Mannassas for I do not think I will stay here more than two weeks[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

S. A. Torrence

Tell Jefferson Wallace's Folks to write to him[.] Direct [mail] to Charlottesville Va[.]

Charlottesville Va March 19th A. D. 1862

Dear Mother

I received your kind and affectinate Letter this morning[.] I was glad to hear from you and to hear that you were all well. I was verry much surprised to hear of F. M. Batie and Frank Boids Weddings.

I am still mending. I have pretty much gained my flesh and I am gaining my strength verry fast. I buy the most of my provisions[.] We pay 60 cts per lb for Butter 30 cts per gallon for Milk, 20 cts per dozen for Eggs. T. J. Wallace sat up about 5 minnets yestoday evening for the first since we have been here[.] He mends verry slow[.]

I do not know where our Regiment is though I think they are about Culpeper[.] I have had no word from them since they retreated. I suppose they burnt Manassas Junction up before they left it[.]²⁹ There has been about \$9,000 spent ther for building Hospitals since the War begun[.] It is now all in ashes and it is reported that the Yankeys are there[.] I do not know whether they are or not[.] though I suppose they are at Winchester. I hear that we will all be moved away from here in a few days[.] I do not know where they will send us to[.] though I expect it will be to Linchburg [Lynchburg] if they send us any where[.] They say they got orders this morning to let none of the Soldiers pass to there [their] Regt nor to Richmond. I am going to hunt for my Regt as quick as they will let me off from

²⁹ With a strength of 540 men, the Regiment moved with most of the Army of Northern Virginia to positions near Yorktown on April 8. Here, it was placed in a brigade commanded by Jubal Early in D. H. Hill's Division. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 70 volumes [127 books and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XI, Part 3, 482, 532. This reference will hereinafter be cited as *Official Records* and all future references are to Series I.

the Hospital. There has been no Mail from down to wards Manassas for 7 or 8 days till yestoday[.] I do not know whether it [mail] will still pass or not or whether they will let me pass through to my Regt of not. If they stop the Manssa [Manassas] Mail the Soldiers will have no chance to send Letters Home or get Letters from Home.

I must close[.] I would like to hear from Home oftener than I do. I cannot tell you where to direct [mail] to now but as quick as you hear where the Regt is[,] direct [mail] to it and I will get it. No more at present but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

S. A. Torrence

Thursday morning March the 20th 1862

Well Sis[,] I will write you a few lines in answer to your kind letter which gave me great satisfaction to hear that you was well. I have been [here] 3 weeks to day [.] I dont think I have to stay here much longer[.] I would like verry much to see you, but I reckon it will be some time before I get Home[.] It is reported here that the 12 Months [volunteers] will be Disbanded the 24[th] of March but I think it is more likely that we will be pressed [back into service] 60 days after our time is out.³⁰ I must close or I will not get any letter Mailed to day[.]

I remain your affectionate Brother[.]

L. Torrence

S. P. T.

Delavan Hospital, Ward H
Charlottesville, Va. April 15th 1862

Dear Pa

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well except [for] a sore arm which was caused by a vaccinating. I would have gone to camps be fore now but J. N. Gullick (a Sergt in my Company) came here the 31st of March verry sick and I have been waiting on him[.] He has the Typhoid fever[.] He mends verry slow[.] He cannot sit up any yet. When he came here he to[ld] me that the Company was 7 miles East of Orange C. H. and that J. T. Torrence and T. N. Parson were sick and gone to a hospital[.] He did not know what one they went to[.]

I heard since that Capt. W. P. Hill³¹ was sick. It is reported

³⁰ Torrence's guess was correct, for the volunteers served throughout the war.

³¹ Captain W. P. Hill, commissioned December 1, 1861.

here that they are at Yorktown[.] I do not know whether they are or not.³² I dont know when I will go to Camp. There is very little talked of here but War. There is no certainty [of] any thing you hear about it. T. J. Wallace is able to runn about through Town and go where he Pleases. I want you to write to me as soon as you get this[.] Direct [mail] to Charlottesville Va and if I leave here before I get it Wallace will bring it to me[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

L. Torrence

Richmond Va May 20th 1862

Dear Pa

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] The Company is generally well[.] J. D. Torrence was sent to the Hospital from Orange C. H. We have had no word from him since[.] M. F. Beaty is not verry well[.] L. C. Torrence(,) H. A. Torrence, J. C. Robinson[, and] S. L. McClure are well[.] I saw Andrew and Robert Wilson about a week ago[.] They were well[.] I saw Cousin J. T. Suggs last Friday[.] He was well. J. J. Wilson[,] W. M. Wilson and J. M. Kendrick left us at [the] Chackamohomony River[.] I suppose they have got Home and to[ld] you all about the Battle of Williams Burg on the 5th of this Month[.]³³

We have had a verry hard time since the Battle Marching nearly all the time and but little to eat[.] We have camped in about 2 miles of Richmond[.]³⁴ We are fairing some better since we came here. Cofee is worth \$1 per lb. Sugar 35cts[,] Milk \$1 per Gal[,] Irish potatoes \$3 per Bu[.] We heard here that there were some recruits comeing from Gaston to our Company[.] They have not got here yet. J. H. Joy sends his respects to W. J. I want you all to write to me[.] It is very seldom I hear from

³² On the peninsula before Yorktown, the Regiment got its introduction to trench warfare and on April 17, received its first shelling by heavy artillery. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 194-196.

³³ After participating in the skirmishing near Yorktown, the Regiment, along with the rest of Early's Brigade, attacked the advancing Federals outside Williamsburg on March 5. A confusion of orders prevented a concerted advance by the brigade on this cold, wet afternoon. The Twenty-third North Carolina lost eight men in action but earned the compliments of General Longstreet for their gallantry. *Official Records*, XI, Part 1, 569; XI, Part 3, 596; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 194-200.

³⁴ The North Carolinians camped a short distance from the eastern edge of Richmond and on May 10, the Regiment was reorganized as the Twenty-third North Carolina Troops. In the election of officers which followed, most of the former officers were replaced by newer men, raised from the ranks by the votes of their fellow volunteers.

Home. I have a bad chance to write here though I will try to write occasionally. Tell W. J. to write to me[.] Direct [mail] to Richmond[.] Nomore but [I] remain Your Obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Near Richmond Va June 8th A. D. 1862

Dear Mother

I received your kind letter last evening which gave me great satisfaction to hear from you and hear that you were all well except W. J. I hope he is better before now[.] I am well at present except [for] Diarhoea which is verry common in Camp[.] The company is generally well.

We left our Camp near Richmond [on] Tuesday the 27th of May and went out on picket[.] Thursday morning we had a skirmish [and] got 2 men wounded in Co B[.] One got back to Camp [but] the other was left of the Field [and] the Yankees got him[.]³⁵ Friday morning we had another [skirmish.] Capt Scarbro³⁶ of Co C was killed and severals [several others] wounded in the Regt[.] Saturday morning between eleven and twelve O clock we got in to a general engagement which continued with strong force on both sides until dark. They then ceased fireing until Sunday morning[.] The Battle was renewed an[d] lasted about an hour and a half or 2 hours. Our Brigade was not in the Fight[.] Sunday morning we drove the Federals back about 3 miles[. We] took 28 Pieces of Artillery and a great many small Arms, Comissary Stores &c and 800 Prisners on Saturday[.] I do not know whether they got any Prisners Sunday morning or not. Our Brigade left the Battle Field Sunday night about One o clock. We are expecting another attact every hour[.]³⁷ We have been called out three times since the Battle[.]

³⁵ While the Regiment served as skirmishers and scouts covering an enemy advance on May 29, two men were wounded, one of whom "was left on the field through a misunderstanding of . . . orders." *Official Record*, XI, Part 3, 559.

³⁶ Captain Ambrose Scarborough was killed while leading four companies in reconnoitering the enemy positions.

³⁷ Torrence has given a private's eye view of the Battle of Seven Pines, in which the outnumbered Confederates stopped McClellan's attempt to take Richmond. The engagement Torrence mentioned as coming on Friday was a probing action to locate Federal strong points along the Williamsburg Road, while the attack on Saturday, June 1, was a heroic advance through a swamp into the face of artillery and musket fire.

In a note placed with this letter, Torrence gave a "List of wounded in Company H" which included sixteen names, although "Some of them verry slightly" injured. Authorities differ as to the losses among the 225 men who went into battle with the Regiment. One source lists 169 men killed, wounded, and missing, while another counts twenty-four killed and ninety-five wounded. Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 561; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 205.

The Prisoners that we took says that Mcleland is determined to have Richmond. Our Genls are determined to hold it[.] We will have some hard fighting to do here and I think it will begin before many days and it may be gin before night[.] We are to form in a line of Battle when we hear the Beugle [bugle] at Head quarters. Our Brigade is Composed of the 5th and 23rd N. C.[,] 24th and 38th Va and [the] 2nd Fla Regts and [the] 2nd Mississippi Battalion and Commanded by Brigadier Genl Garland.³⁸ Our Division is composed of Gens Garland, Rhodes, Rains, Wilcox and Featherston's Brigades and Commanded by Maj General D. H. Hill, and was attached to Johnstons Army[.] I understand that Longstreet has command of the Army at this time[.] I do not know where Johnston is now nor what he is doing[.]³⁹

I will tell you something about our Regiments fair in the Battle[.] Our Col⁴⁰ and Lieut Col⁴¹ was wounded though not dangerously[.] Our Maj⁴² was mortally wounded and Died a few days after the Battle[.] There was about 175 or 180 killed[.] though I suppose some of them will Die from their wounds[.] Capt W. P. Hill, J. C. Robinson, Jackson Groves, Marion Groves and Fed Fite were severely wounded[.] I came out safe[.] A ball passed my right arm [and] went through my coat sleeve and shirt[.] The balls were falling around us as thick as hale all the time[.] It did not look like there was any chance for a man to go through them without being hit[.] I saw several trees nearly as thick round as my Body cut down with Cannon balls[.] There was a ball went through a verry large Pine just over my head [and] it did not appear to check the Ball at all[.] This Battle is called the Battle of Seven Pines. The paper states our loss at 3,000 killed and wounded[.] I think we lost more[.] There was a great many killed and wounded. Federals and Confederates were both lying thick on the part of the Field that I passed through[.] It was a verry distressing place[.]⁴³ I must

³⁸ The Regiment was attached to the brigade commanded by Brigadier General Samuel Garland, Jr., who was killed at South Mountain, September 14, 1862.

³⁹ Johnston had been wounded on May 31 at Seven Pines and Gustavus W. Smith succeeded him temporarily, but Longstreet actually conducted operations. On June 1, President Davis called Robert E. Lee to lead the Army of Northern Virginia.

⁴⁰ Daniel H. Christie had taken command of the Regiment at its re-organization.

⁴¹ Robert D. Johnston.

⁴² Edmund J. Christian.

⁴³ The losses were indeed heavy, for 5,031 of the Federals were killed, wounded, or missing, and the Confederates lost 6,134 men. Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 543, 549.

close[.] Pleas write soon for I dont hear from you often[.]
Nomore at present but [I] remain your affectionate Son

Leonidas Torrence⁴⁴

Sabbath evening. June 8th 1862

Dear Sister

I will write you a few lines in answer to your kind letter which I received last evening[.] I had not heard from you in a long time[.] I [asked] you to write oftener. I have a bad chance to write to you[.] I lost my napsack in Williams burg and every thing I had except what I had on. I could have plenty of clothing on the Battle field but had no way of taking care of it[.] Nap-sacks and all sorts of clothing were lying thick[.] I did not know what minnet I would get in to a Battle[.] You needed not send me any cloth[e]s I can draw any thing that I neede if we ever get settled or Peace being made soon.

Sis we have hard times here[.] Some nights we have to march all night and verry often the mud is Knee deep[.] We get but little to eat[.] I have not time to tell you much about our fair but if ever I get Home I will tell you more than I can write. L. C. Torrence[.] H. A. Torrence, J. D. Torrence, S. L. McClure and the Boys generaly are well. Cousin J. T. Suggs Has the yellow janders. I have not saw Couson Robert and Andrew Wilson since the Battle though I heard from them [that] they are well[.] Abertus Bell was wounded. I must close for want of room[.]

Your Affectionate Brother
L. Torrence

Camp near Richmond July 14th A. D. 1862

Dear Pa & Ma

I received your kind letter a few days ago and was glad to hear from you. I have not been verry well for about 2 weks[.] I am better today[.] We have had verry hard times since I wrote to you before[.] Wednesday the 25th of June we were called out and Marched to the Breastworks at Seven Pines where we were exposed to the fire of the enemys Cannon all the time. They threw

⁴⁴ In a note placed with this letter, Torrence added: "If Pa gets my shoes maid dont let McArthur make them if there is any other chance[,] for his work will not stand [up.] Write soon and let me know if he is getting them maid[.] I expect I can get a pair here but if I do I will have to pay a big price and they will be verry little account."

some Bumms verry close to us but did not hurt any of us[.] There was heavy Musketry going on the best part of the day[.] We were Marched back to our Camp[.] About one O clock Thursday morning we were called out again and Marched out to wards Mechanics ville[.] They had a hard Fight at Mechanicsville that day [but] we were not in it[.] That night they threw bumms all around us [and] wounded 2 men in our Regt. and killed one man in a Regt just behind us. Friday morning we passed Mechanicsville[.] That evening we got in to an engagement with the enemy. John J. Wright was killed[.] H. A. Torrence and L. T. Vandyke were s[lightly] wounded[.] The rest of our Company came out safe. There was 2 killed and 37 wounded in our Regt. We took 29 pieces of Artillery and about 3,000 prisners[.] About dark the Battle stoped [but] we lay on the Battle field that night[.] You never heard such moaning and hollowing as was on the Battle Field that night with the wounded[.] Satturday morning we Marched on through the Battle ground[.] There were a great many killed and wounded yankeys on it. We lay bye from Saturday evening till Monday morning waiting for a Bridge to be put up on the Chickohomony [River.] Monday morning we crossed the Chickohomony and passed through the Battle Field where they fought Sunday[.] The ground was nearly covered with dead yankeys. I did not see many of our men killed there. Monday night we got in reach of the yankeys Bumms again[.] Tuesday evening we got in to another Battle. I think it was as hard a Battle as ever was Fought[.] The Balls fell around me as thick as hail for 2 or 3 hours[.] There was none of our Camp killed there.⁴⁵ There was 6 wounded [but] none bad wounded except C. A. Fronebarger[.] The ball went in at one Shoulder and Out at the other[.] The Dr said it did not hit any Bone and he did not think it a dangerous wound[.] He was sent to the Hospital and I have not herd from him since[.] I do not know how many was killed and wounded in our Regt. We whipped the yankeys every time[.] Our Col was wounded at Seven Pines the 31st of May and went Home[.] He just got back a few Pines days before the Battle and was wounded Friday the 27th of June and is gone Home again[.] Wednesday we struck Camp and stayed there till Monday morning [when]

⁴⁵ In the series of battles known as the Seven Days, Federal losses were placed at 15,849 and the Confederate killed, wounded, and missing at 20,614. The Twenty-third North Carolina had taken a position in the left wing of the army. After almost a week of heavy fighting, the Regiment lost approximately thirty killed and seventy-five wounded out of 175 men ready for duty. So heavy were the casualties among the officers that the unit seems to have finished the engagement without a commissioned officer in the field. Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 543, 549; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 207-215.

we commensed Marching again[.] We got to the Camp where we are now [on] Friday[.] I do not know how long we will stay here.⁴⁶ We were as nigh wore out the time of the Battle as you ever saw men[.] Some people think Peace will be made soon [but] others think the War will continue 5 or 6 years[.] As for my part, I do not see any prospect of Peace[.]

L. C. Torrence is not verry well[.] He lies in bed the best part of his time. S. L. McClure is well[.] Cousin Marcus Torrence was killed in the Battle Tuesday the 1st of July. I saw Cousin T. M. Wilson last Wednesday [and] he was well[.] I received a few lines from W. J. on last Saturday dated July the 7th[.] He said he was on his way to Richmond and expected to visit us soon[.] He has not got here yet[.] I would be glad to see him[.] I would like to go Home and see you all again but I dont expect to be there soon[.] I must close for I am tired [of] writing on my knee[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your obedient Son.

Leonidas Torrence

To W. W. and S. A. Torrence

Sis, I will write you a few lines to let you know that I [am] not verry well though I am better than I have been[.] We do not get much here that is fit for a sick man to eat[.] We pay from 25 to 30 cts per qt for Milk \$1.25 to \$1.50 for Butter from \$1 to \$2.50 cts (according to the size of them) [for] Chickens[.] Corn Meal [is] 20 cts per qt[.] Irish potatoes [are] 50 cts per qt and other things in proportaion.

Sis if you have any chance you may send me one Shirt[.] one pair [of] Drawers and one pair [of] Sox[.] If not I can get them here. I must Close, be sure to write soon[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your affectionate Brother[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Sarah P. Torrence

Frederick County Maryland Sept. 12th 1862

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] The health of the Company is good at this time[.] Lieut. J. B. F. Biddle was taken sick a bout 3 miles this side of Ashland[.]

⁴⁶ The Regiment enjoyed a few weeks of rest before marching into Maryland. During this time, a letter from Colonel Christie on August 14 notified Torrence that because of the latter's "military skill and ability," he had been promoted to corporal.

H. A. Torrence about a mile this sid[e] of Leasburg[.] I have not heard from them since. We Marched all the way from Richmond[.]⁴⁷ We waided Rapadan Bull runn Cobrunn and the Potomac[.] We landed in Maryland the 4th Inst. We were all wore out[.] We have been at this place 4 days[.] I do not know how long we will stay here[.] They say there is a good many Marylanders Joining our army[.] I think we will attact Baltimore or Washington City one be fore many days[.] though I do not know. They sayd we have between 3 & 400,000 Troops in Maryland[.]⁴⁸

I have not time to write any thing about our March[.] I saw Lee Suggs yestoday[.] He was well[.] We have a Man by the name of Turner from Granville County for our Capt[.]⁴⁹ I must close[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your Obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Dec the 11th 1862⁵⁰

Camp near Freddricksburg, Va

Friend Torrence

The first place is you must look over all mistakes. For I am writing by a brush fire. I am well & the Company is in good health at this time. We are camped close to the Fredricksburg on the Rappihannock river. We want you to bring a box of things

⁴⁷ On September 2, three days after Second Manassas, the Regiment joined the main force of the army near Bull Run.

⁴⁸ After wading the Potomac near Leesburg, the Regiment camped near Fregerick until September 10, when it marched down the road toward Hagerstown. Torrence had missed the size of the Confederate army in Maryland by putting an extra zero in his total. Also, the rumor of Marylanders flocking to join Lee's army was little more than a hope.

In the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, the regiments of Garland's Brigade were assigned to D. H. Hill's Division of Jackson's Corps. Although the Twenty-third North Carolina was not in the heaviest fighting in this campaign and reported no casualties at Antietam, a "happy shot" by a man from this unit killed the Federal Major General Jesse L. Reno. On the day of Reno's death, September 14, the unit fought "gallantly" before exhausting their ammunition. *Official Records*, XIX, Part 1, 808, 813, 1020, 1040-1042.

⁴⁹ Vines E. Turner, commissioned May 10, 1862.

⁵⁰ After the fighting in Maryland, the Regiment returned to Virginia and camped for about a month along the Opequon. During this time, new recruits filled the vacant ranks and Brigadier General Alfred Iverson assumed command of the brigade, then composed of four North Carolina regiments: the Fifth, Twelfth, Twentieth, and Twenty-third. At almost the same time as the latter unit moved southeast to Fredericksburg, Torrence went home on furlough.

to us. H. A. Torrence wants his people to send him a pair of Shoes, 4 pair [of] Socks[,] 2 pair of Slip[per]s, one pair of pants[, and] one coat. H. A. wants you to bring the Shoes & Socks if you cant bring any thing else. If you bring any thing to eat or drink fetch him some.

J. D. Torrence wants you to fetch him what he asked you to fetch for him in Richmond. S. L. McClure wants you to bring him a pair of socks[,] a pair of gloves[,] a pair [of] pants & something to eat & a jug of brandy.

Lon I want you to bring me a pair of good Shoes & a pair of Jains pants. I do not cair what they cost. I will pay you what they cost & for your trouble, & a pair or two of Socks. S. L. McClure wants you to bring a Box of provisions with you & Some good Brandy[.]

The mess wants you to bring a half doz of good pocket knives & a half doz of good pocket books[.] The money will all bee paid to you for everything when you come. If this letter reaches your hand and you start with any boxes, when you get to the station—if you can hire some sittizon to hall them to camp do so and it shant cost you any thing. If you cant get them halled put them in some persons house, So we can get them easy. H. A. Torrence wants a pair of gloves.

Yours with Respect

W. J. O Daniel

Dec the 11th/62

Camp near Fredericks Burg Via

Miss Sarah P. Torrence

I take this oportunity to drop you a few lines which will inform you that I am in good health & hoping this may find you in the enjoyment of the same blessing[.] I have nothing of interest to write [except that] we are building houses for winter[.] We have had a beautiful fall[.] It is very warm to knight[.] The yankeys & us are only a few miles apart[.] Now I would like to be at home a few days to see you a flying round the boys[.] Send me a pice of butter with a later [letter?] on the end of it[.] I mus close as it is bedtime[.] I remain your sincere friend[.]

S. L. McClure to S. P. Torrence

Camp near Guinea Station⁵¹ Dec 19th/62

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I have got to the Regt and found the Boys all well[.] My Eye gets no better. I lost S. L. McClures Cloths between Petersburg & Richmond [but] I got his Boots onto him[.] I saw John and gave him his shoes[.] He was well[.] Lee Suggs was well[.] They had a fight last Saturday [and] 8 of their men were killed with the Bayonet[.] I do not mind [remember] the rest of their names[.] Our Company has not been in any Fight since I left[.]⁵² I will close for I cannot see to write[.] I remain Your obedient Son[.]

L. Torrence.

Write soon[.] Direct [mail] to
Guinea Station[.]

Camp near Fredericks Burg Va Jan 31st 1863

Dear Mother

I received your letter a few days ago and was glad to hear from you and hear that you were all well[.] This leaves me well[.] My Eye has got well[.] That speck [is] still on it[.] The health of our Company is good[.] We have had some verry cold Snowy weather[.] My mess has got up a cabbin and got in to it be fore the Snow fell[.] We are verry Cumfortab[ly] Situated now if we can get to stay here[.] We have had Orders to cook up our rations and be ready to march at any moment 3 or 4 times since we have been here[.] The Roads have got so bad now that I think we will stay here till they get better without the yankey makes some move and we will have to make a move to suit theirs[.] When we go on picket there is nothing be tween us and the yankeys but the Rappohannock River[.] At firs we could talk to them but the Officers have stoped us from talking to them[.]⁵³ I will close[.] Write soon and let me hear from you[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your obedient Son.

L. Torrence

⁵¹ Guiney's Station was on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, about ten miles south of Fredericksburg.

⁵² The Regiment was held in reserve during the battle of Fredericksburg and suffered no casualties.

⁵³ With Major General Robert E. Rodes replacing Hill as division commander, the soldiers built winter quarters along the Rappahannock. Here, the "great snow battle" took place. With such improvised facilities as Torrence has described, the men in the ranks of both armies waited through a harsh winter for the coming of good fighting weather.

Well Sis I received your letter a few days ago and was glad to hear that you were well. I [am] well and doing the best I can[.] I have a nice little Cabbin to stay in[.] Our rations are rather scanty but we buy a little of one thing and another and do verry well[.] Tell W. J. if [he] comes to bring us all the Cheese and Butter that he can [and to] get some Fruit &c[.] I would be glad to see him here but if he comes he may expect to have a good deal of trouble with his Boxes. If he gets them to Guinea Station he had better leave them there till he comes to the Regt and we will go after them or if he will enquire about the Wagons and he may find some there from this Regt or Brigad as they hawl their provisions from there[.] I must quit writing and go to getting supper[.] We have bought some Peaches to day and we are going to have pye for supper[.] Nomore at present but [I] remain your affectionate Brother.

L. Torrence

Sarah Priscilla Torrence

Camp near Guineas Station Va
Feb 9th 1863

Dear Brother

I received your Letter this evening dated Feb 3rd and was glad to hear from you and hear that you were all well[.] This leaves me in good health[.] The health of the Company is good. I have no news to write worth your attention[.] You said in your letter that you wanted to know whether we still wanted you to come if you can conveniently do so[.] We get enough to eat here but we would like to have a change and we would be verry glad to see you out here[.] If you come bring us a good supply of Cheese Butter and Fruit. Bring some Red Pepper, Whiskey and Soap[.] Tell Sis to send me some sewing thread[.] I saw Hugh Torrence and Robert White to day[.] They were well[.] I will close[.] Nomore but [I] remain your affectionate Brother[.]

Leonidas Torrence

Camp near Guineas Station Va March 14th 1863

Dear Mother

I received your letter you sent with L. C. Torrence and was glad to hear that you were all well. I am well and have been in verry good health ever since I left Home[.] The Company is generally well[.] We have had a verry Cold Snowy Winter[.]

It is verry Cold to day[.] Cousin Hugh Torrence is here to day[.] He is well. I saw R. L. Simmons yestoday[.] He was well and hearty[.] I was at the 37th Regt⁵⁴ yestoday[.] They have heard that Thomas & Andrew Ferguson are both dead[.] I do not know whether they are or not[.] The 28th⁵⁵ has had no word of John McClure since he was sent to the Hospital. Lee Suggs & the rest of my acquaintance in the 28th are well.

I would have been verry glad if W. J. could have got a Box of provision[s] to us but I have no idea that he could bring a Box through now. James Ferguson was here when he came after Julius Neagle[.] He told us about J. R. Falls & Robert Boid starting with some Boxes & haveing to take them back Home[.] He said the cars were verry much crowded[.] We are in our Winter Quarters yet[.] I do not know how long we will stay in them though I dont think we will stay much longer. There is some talk of Peace here but I dont see any prospect of it my self[.] T. L. Clinton & D. W. Ford starts Home to morrow on Furlough for 15 days[.] I dont think there will be any more Furloughs given this spring. I must close[.] Write soon and let me hear from you[.] No more but [I] remain your obedent Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

to S. A. Torrence

I got what things you sent me by L. C. Torrence

Camp near Fredericks Burg Va
March 28th 1863

Dear Mother

I will drop you a few lines to lete you know that I am well[.] Our Company is in verry good health at this time[.] R. W. Smith died the 16th of this month with Pneumonia. Lieut Nicholson of Co. C⁵⁶ died last Thursday[.] He was wounded in the head at Seven Pines[.] He went Home on furlough and came back to his Company a few days ago to get a Discharge[.] He took worse about 10 O clock Thursday A. M. and died that evening. He is not burryed yet[.] I believe they are going to send him Home. We have had a verry Cold wet Snowy Winter but we have got to stay in our winter quarters and been quite comfortable all the time except when we were on picket[.] We came of picket yestoday. A man by the name of Benfield in Co

⁵⁴ The Thirty-seventh North Carolina was encamped at Moss Neck on the Rappahannock, not far from the Twenty-third.

⁵⁵ The Twenty-eighth North Carolina was also at Moss Neck.

⁵⁶ John R. Nicholson of Montgomery County, commissioned May 10, 1862.

F left us Thursday night[.] I suppose he went to the yanks. There was 4 men runn the gantlet in the 5th N. C. Regt⁵⁷ the Saturday before L. C. Torrence started home for going Home with out lief. One of them died the 8th day after he was whipped. The Dr said it was the whipping [that] killed him[.]⁵⁸ 3 of the con scripts of our Company are in the gard house now for going home with[out] lief[.] I do not know what will be done with them yet[.] There is 14 of this Regt in the guard house for the same crime. I will close for the present[.] Write soon[.] Nomore but [I] remain your Obedient Son.

L. Torrence

Camp near Fredericks Burg Va
April 12/63

Dear Mother

I received your kind letter a few days since and was verry glad to hear from you and hear that you were all well[.] This leaves me well[.] Our company is in good health at this time[.] We left our Winter quarters the 4th of this month and marched about 2 miles and camped again (we mooved to get nearer to wood) [.] It commenced Snowing about 8 O clock the nigh[t] we came here and continued til about 8 the next morning[.] The wind blew verry hard all night and it was verry cold[.] We (my mess) made a tent with our blankets and done verry well[.] I was on guard and had to be out the best part of the night[.] We have got us collier huts now and are verry comfortable fixed[.] We have had a verry wet snowey disagreeable winter here. The last two or three days have been verry warm and pretty[.] It be gins to look like Spring, but I dont think the Farmers can do much on their farms here for their fenses are all burnt and the timber is all burnt til they can get nothing to fense there farms with[.] You have no idea how the Army weads out things where they go. I will close[.] Write soon. Nomore but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

S. A. Torrence

⁵⁷ Desertion, often to the lines of the enemy, was a serious problem at this time. Like most Confederate regiments, the Fifth North Carolina was camping near the Union lines.

⁵⁸ The practice of flogging was not an uncommon mode of punishment in the army. It was made illegal, however, by an act of the Confederate Congress on April 1, 1863. This bill declared "that no soldier convicted by a court martial or military court, shall suffer punishment by whipping or stripes upon his person." "Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress, Third Session," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX, 70-71.

Camp of 23rd N. C. T. April 12th/63

Dear Sister

I received your kind letter a few days since and was very glad to hear from you and hear that you were all well. I am well and harty and enjoying my self verry well in my little Collier hut. It is a verry fine House made of Pine Cedar and Poplar poles[.] It is covered with Pine and Cedar limbs and plastered with Dirt and has a verry nice Brick Chimney built with sticks and mud[.] We have verry nice Mahogany Bed steads made of Pine poles and a great many other fine articles to tedious to mention.

Sis, wouldnt you like to have a fine house and Furniture like me[?] I was verry much suprised to hear of Polly haveing a Colt. I would like to come home and see you all and see your pretty little colt but I dont see any chance to get there till the War ends and I dont think that will be soon[.] I think fighting to end this War is pretty much like throwing dry Fewel on a fire to put it out for evry Battle just aggravates both Armyes and drives Peace further away.

Tell W. C. D. McClures Folks that Sam is well[.] He says he will not write now as I am writing. He will write soon[.] I was down at the 28th N. C. Regt a few days ago[.] They have had no word of John yet. I will close[.] Write soon, Your Brother[.]

L. Torrence

Sarah P. Torrence

Camp near Fredericks Burg Va May 7th 1863

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well with the exception of sore Feet caused by hard marching.⁵⁹ We

⁵⁹ Marching at the head of the column which Jackson threw at Hooker's right flank on March 2, the Twenty-third North Carolina had an important role at Chancellorsville. Estimates of the Regiment's losses range from 145 to 180 men, but there was no doubt about their conduct on the field of battle. The brigade commander spoke of the "splendid regiment" and the division commander wrote of the "magnificent style" of their fighting. Although two officers were killed and three captured, the Regiment had its trophies of battle. Not only did the Tar Heels capture a flag and a guidon, but the flag-staff of the regiment being "shot in two," the staff was "replaced by that of the enemy." *Official Records*, XXV, Part 1, 808, 843, 944, 949-950, 984-986, 992-994; Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 568.

On a scrap of paper mailed with this letter, Torrence gave a "List of wounded in Co H 23 Regt N. C. T. at the Battles of Wilderness Plains," which included two killed, two missing, and twenty-three wounded (a lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, sixteen privates, and four "conscripts").

got orders the 28th of last month about 7 o'clock A. M. to cook up what Rations we had on hands and be ready to march at any moment. A few minutes after we got orders to pack up our Knap-sacks and get ready to fall in and before 9 O'clock we were on the Road to Hamiltons Crossing.⁶⁰

We landed there about 12 O'clock[.] We formed a line of Battle and stayed there till about 3 O'clock A. M. the 1st of May (without any engagement with the Enemy except the Pickets and Artillery)[.] We then started for Fredericks Burg that evening and attacked the Enemy but our Pickets drove them back and we had no general engagement with them[.] There was considerable Skirmishing going on all evening but very little damage done to either side[.] The next morning about daylight we commenced moving on up the River[.] We had not went far till they Fired in to us with musketry and Artillery and wounded 3 of our men[:] T. L. Clinton[.] J. L. Linebarger & J. A. Ford[.] each one getting a leg broke[.] We got J. L. Linebarger & J. A. Ford fell in the hands of the Yankeys as we had to fall back and could not take them with us[.] We marched on up the Rappohannock till we got rather above the Yanks and attacked them in their rear[.] The same evening we runn them about 3 miles and took a Number of Prisners. W. L. Smith got wounded in the hand & G. E. Manuell & B. T. Lemley (2 Conscripts) were wounded[.] There was very heavy firing going on nearly all night[.] We got out about midnight. We went in to it soon the next morning (being Sunday the 3rd)[.] We had a very hard Fight that day and drove the Enemy some 2 or 3 miles with heavy loss on both sides[.] John C. Ford & C. Mires (a Conscript in our Comp) were Killed dead on the Field. R. H. Reid & R. N. Glenn were mortally wounded and died since[.] J. I. M. Price [was] badly wounded I am afraid he is dead before now[.] H. A. Torrence [was] badly wounded in the Back[.] I have not yet seen him since he was wound[ed.] From what I can find out about him I think it will be uncertain whether he gets well or not[.] R. L. Torrence [was] wounded in the arm, neck and over the Left Eye[.] I have not saw him since he [was] wounded[.] I dont think he has any Bones broke[.] They say he is not dangerously wounded[.] Sunday night we got the Hospital where the Yankeys had taken Labun Linebarger and James Ford[.] T[h]o each of them had their leg cut off they said they were well taken care of while in the hands of the Enemy[.] They were carryed back to our own Hospital to be taken care of[.] We stayed there in line of Battle

⁶⁰ This was the point at which the road to Fredericksburg crossed the railroad, just beyond the Massaponax River, about five miles south of Fredericksburg.

till Wednesday[.] There was considerable Skirmishing along the lines till Tuesday night when the Yanks fell back and crossed the River[.] Wednesday morning we sent out Skirmishers and found the Yanks had all crossed the River. We then started back to our Old Camp where we left the 28th of April (a distance of 18 or 20 miles) [.] The Roads were verry muddy as it had been Raining Tuesday and Tuesday night and was still raining Wednesday. It was about the middle of the day when we started back here[.] It was getting late in the night when we got here[.] We were all verry near broke down when we got here [because] we rested but once on the way and that not moore than 5 minutes[.] I dont think there was any use in marching us so hard, for we had had no rest for 8 days worth speaking of. It is still cloudy and wet here. I will send you a list of the wounded in our Company as I have not room to name them here[.]

Friday morning May 8th

Mother I thought I had saw as distressing sights on Battle Fields as I ever could see to look at men Killed and Wounded, but where we Fought last Sunday the Bums set the woods afire and to look at Killed and Wounded men burning was the worst looking sight I ever saw or heard of[.] I think the most of our wounded were carryed off before they got burnt[.] I cant give you any idea what a sight it was to walk over the Battle Field and see men lying with their cloth[e]s burnt off their hair burnt close to their Head [and] their Arms and legs all drawed up with the fire[.] I never saw such a distressing sight before and hope I may never see such another.⁶¹

General Jackson (Stonewall) was wounded[,] some say slightly and some say his arm was shot off[.] I do not know anything about it for certain[.]⁶²

I want you to write to me as soon as you get this and let me hear how you are all getting along[.] I will close as I have several other letters to write today[.] Nomore but [I] remain your obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

to S. A. Torrence

Friday May 8th

Affectionate Sister

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] I have been through another Big Battle and come out safe while

⁶¹ This fire burned a wide area of the battlefield on Sunday morning, May 3.

⁶² For once the camp rumor was correct, for Jackson had suffered wounds which soon proved fatal.

ma[n]y of my Friends were Killed and wounded[.] There was 2 men Killed in our Company and 23 wounded[.] Some of them were wounded verry badly and some verry slightly. I will send you a List of their names. I have not time to give you the particulars of their wounds[.] I expect J. D. Torrence and P. F. Herren were taken prisoners. I saw William B. Torrence Sunday evening after the most of the Fighting was over [and] he was well[.]

Tell Mr McClures folks Sam is well[.] He came through the Fight safe[.] He will not write for a few days as I am writing and his people can hear from him[.] He has no word of John yet. Tell Pa to send me a Pair of Shoes if he has leather and can get them made[.] If the old Shoes are there that I left when I was at Home I would rather have them half soled as a new pair[.] He can send them with W. J. O Daniel when he returns[.] Tell Junius to write to me[.] I have not had a letter from him in a long time[.] Be sure and write as soon as you get this[.] your affectionate Brother[.]

Leonidas Torrence

S. P. T.

June 17th 1863

Camp near Williams Port Maryland

Dear Mother

I will write you a few lines to let you know that I am well[.] Our Company is generally well[.] We all have verry sore feet as we Left our old Camp near Fredericks Burg the 4th of this month and have been marching nearly study ever since we crossed the Potomac the 15th about Sun set and came to this place[.] We have been resting yestoday and to day[.] I do not know how long we will stay here[.] We formed a line of battle the 9th near Brandy Station but the Cavalry forced the Enemy [to] runn across the River be fore we got in to it[.]⁶³

We formed a line of Battle near Martins Burg the 14th and runn the Enemy out of Town[.] We had no Fight except a few Artillery and skirmish shots[.] None of our Brigade [was] hurt [but] 4 of General Ramsewers men⁶⁴ [were] killed about the time they entered the Town[. It was] supposed to be done by the Citisons[.] We captured several pieces of artillery and a good deal of other property and some prisoners[.] I got a good

⁶³ Federal scouts retreated before the advance of cavalry and the infantry missed the skirmish. *Official Records*, XXVII, Part 2, 546.

⁶⁴ Major General Stephen D. Ramseur.

pair of shoes[.] W. J. O Daniel got to us yestoday and brot me another pair[.] He sold my meat and peaches as he could not carry them[.] He got his cheese and Sams meat to us[.] I am glad you did not send me any moore with O Daniel than you did and wish you had kept my shoes for I have as much as I can take care of[.] We get plenty [to] eat now[.] I will close for the wind is blowing so that I cannot write[.] I do not know whether you can read what I have wrote or not but as I will have a chance to send it to Winchester to morrow and do not know when I will have another chance I thought I would try to scribble you a few lines[.] S. L. McClure and J. L. Wallace are well[.] O Daniel saw H. A & R. L. Torrence in Richmond. They are doing verry well[.]

When you write direct [mail] to Richmond and it will come to the Regt if you put the Regt and Company on it[.] Write soon to your Obedient Son[.]

Leonidas Torrence

DIARY OF LEONIDAS TORRENCE—JUNE 4, 1863 THROUGH JULY 4, 1863

June 4th 1863 ⁶⁵

Wagon Train loaded after dark and moved at 12 O clock[.] Brigade mooved at 3 O clock in to the Road leading to Guinea's Station⁶⁶ where the Division formed up and traveled to half past 2 O cloc[k] struck Camp having marched 15 miles[.]

[June] 5th

Mooved [at] 5 O clock and marched verry hard til 5 O clock in the evening and struck Camp having marched 20 miles[.]

[June] 6th

Mooved at 5 O clock marched a bout 2 miles[.] Camp[ed] again and cooked up 1 days Rations and remained there dureing the night[.]

⁶⁵ For details concerning the Gettysburg campaign, see Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York, 3 volumes, 1942-1944), III, 1-204, hereinafter cited as Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*; Walter Lord (ed.), *The Freemantle Diary . . .* (Boston, 1954), 176-221; Fitzgerald Ross, *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell (Urbana, Ill.: 1958), 28-62.

⁶⁶ This was a station on the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, about twelve miles south of Fredericksburg.

[June] 7th

Mooved [at] half past 4 O clock and crossed the Rappohannock at Raccoon Ford⁶⁷ about 7 O clock and passed through Culpeper⁶⁸ at noon and Camped 3 miles from Town[.]

[June] 8th

Remained in camp all day and cooked up 2 days Rations[.]

[June] 9th

Mooved a[t] 11 O clock [and] formed a line of Battle near Brandy Station⁶⁹ and remained there til late in the evening[.] Cavalry in Front Fighting[.] They succeeded in running the Enemy across the [Rappahannock] River[.] We came back 2 miles and struck Camp.

[June] 10th

Cooked up 1 days Rations and mooved at 1 O clock and march[ed] till 8 O clock and struck Camp having marched 10 miles[.]

[June] 11th

Moved at 6 O clock and marched up to wards Flint Hill⁷⁰ going to Front Royal⁷¹[. We] passed through Flint Hill and camped about 1 mile from Town having marched 15 miles and [then we] cooked up 1 days Rations[.]

[June] 12th

Moved at day light and came a cross the Blue Ridge and passed through Front Royal and crossed the Shanandoah River 1 mile from Town and Camped 7 miles from Town having marched about 20 miles[.]

⁶⁷ This often-used ford was on the Rapidan, or south fork of the Rappahannock, about seven miles from Culpeper.

⁶⁸ Sometimes called Fairfax, Culpeper was an important crossroads town from which a good pike led across the Blue Ridge.

⁶⁹ This station was on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, about three miles south of the bridge across the Rappahannock.

⁷⁰ Situated eighteen miles overland from Brandy Station, Flint Hill was a small village on the road from Culpeper to Front Royal, just northwest of Gaines' Cross-Roads.

⁷¹ An important town near the confluence of the north and south forks of the Shenandoah, Front Royal was a key to the northern end of the Valley.

[June] 13th

Moved [at] half past 4 O clock and passed through Millwood⁷² and then to Berryville⁷³ [Here, we] rested 1 hour then marched 5 miles and struck Camp having marched 25 miles[.]

[June] 14th

Mooved at Sunrise and came through Smith Field⁷⁴ from there to Bunkers Hill⁷⁵ from there to Martins Burg⁷⁶ [Here, we] formed a line of Battle and runn the enemy from there and remained there all night in line of Battle[.]

[June] 15th

Drawed Rations and mooved at 12 O clock [We] arrived at the Potomac at dark and crossed over and came through Williams Port⁷⁷ and Camped about 300 yards from Town and stayed there 2 days and cooked up 2 days Rations.

[June] 18th

Moved at 6 O clock and marched about 4 miles from Williams Port and struck camp and drawed 1 days Ration[s], an cooked them up[.]

[June] 19th

Mooved [at] half past 8 O clock [and] passed through Hagers Town⁷⁸ [and] Funk's Town⁷⁹ and camped about 1 mile from Town [We] stayed there 2 days and drawed 2 days Rations and cooked them up[.]

⁷² This small settlement on the north bank of the Shenandoah was about fifteen miles northeast of Front Royal.

⁷³ Located about seven miles north of Millwood, roads led from this village northward to Harper's Ferry and Shepherdstown, and westward to Winchester.

⁷⁴ Here, ten miles north of Berryville and twelve miles from the Potomac, was an important junction of roads in the northern Shenandoah Valley.

⁷⁵ The march to this small town, four and one-half miles west of Smithfield, was a turn away from the Potomac to the good turnpike leading northward.

⁷⁶ Here, ten miles north of Smithfield, the Confederates cut the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and defeated a Federal force which managed to hold its ground until night. Doubleday, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, 105; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 233.

⁷⁷ After reaching this town on the north bank of the Potomac, thirteen miles northeast of Martinsburg, the Regiment paused to receive and transmit stores taken by the cavalry.

⁷⁸ This important town, six miles northeast of Williamsport, was the southern terminus of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, which curved north-eastward to Harrisburg.

⁷⁹ Funktown was a small settlement two miles south of Hagerstown.

[June] 22nd

Moved at half past 5 O clock and marched through Funks Town [and] Hagerstown[. We] landed in Pennsylvania [and] passed through Middle Burg⁸⁰ and Green Castle⁸¹ and struck Camp 1 mile from Town about 1 O clock[.]

[June] 23rd

Remained in Camp all day & drew one days Rations[.]

[June] 24th

Moved at 5 O clock and marched Through Chambersburg⁸² and struck camp one mile beyond Town[. There we] Drewed 1 days Rations having marched 12 miles[.]

[June] 25th

Remained in Camp untill evening[. Then, we] Cooked up one days Rations [and] went on piquet[.]

[June] 26th

Moved at 6 O clock[. We] marched Through Green Villiage⁸³ and Through Shipensburg⁸⁴ and struck Camp having marched 11 miles[.]

[June] 27th

Moved at 6 O clock and Pased Through Leesburg⁸⁵ and Through Jacksonville⁸⁶ and Through Carlisle and struck camp in the U S Barracks⁸⁷[. We] Drewed 1 Days Rations having marched 20 miles[.]

⁸⁰ About five miles south of Hagerstown, this village was just across the State line and two miles east of the Cumberland Valley Railroad.

⁸¹ Located ten miles north of Hagerstown, Greencastle was an important station on the Cumberland Valley Railroad.

⁸² Units from Rodes's and Robert D. Johnston's divisions had occupied this frightened town a day earlier. It was on the railroad, eleven miles north of Greencastle and about twenty-four miles west of Gettysburg.

⁸³ This small town was on the most direct route to Harrisburg, and was five miles north of Chambersburg, just west of the railroad.

⁸⁴ Shippensburg was an important station on the railroad, eleven miles from Chambersburg and only thirty-six miles from Harrisburg by either the Cumberland Valley Railroad or the turnpike.

⁸⁵ This small settlement was five miles southeast of Shippensburg.

⁸⁶ Both Jacksonville and Leesburg were on the less-traveled Walnut Bottom Road to Carlisle, which ran south of both the turnpike and the railroad.

⁸⁷ The main body of Ewell's corps moved into this railroad town, only sixteen miles west of Harrisburg, on this day. The occupation was complete

[June] 28th

Remained in Camp all Day [and] Drewed 1 days Rations[.]

[June] 29th

Remained in camp all Day [and] Drewed one days Rations[.]

[June] 30th

Moved at 5 O clock and passed through Paper town⁸⁸ and Pettersburg⁸⁹ and Hartsburg⁹⁰ and struck Camp[. Then, we] Drewed 1 days Rations having marched 20 miles[.]

July 1th

Marched back through Hartsburg and turned to the left, [then we] passed through Midletown⁹¹ and near to Getteys Burg, formed [a] line of battle and fought the Yankees the same one [day] and Suffered verry much, 15 killed and wounded[.]⁹²

[July] 2nd

Sharp shooting all day[.] Our men charged the enemys brest works three times but was Repulsed[.]

[July] 3rd

Heavy firing all day[.] Our men opened 100 peaces of artilery on there hights but did not take any effect[.]⁹³

with speeches and music, and Torrence's company moved into the U. S. Barracks for a three-day rest. During this time, the only crisis came when the North Carolinians, full of captured whiskey, almost fought an equally drunk Georgia regiment. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 33-35; Double-day, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, 107; Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 233.

⁸⁸ The movement through this small town, six miles south of Carlisle on the turnpike leading to Baltimore, was the result of Lee's attempt to mass his forces at Gettysburg to meet the Union army. As the soldiers headed south, they feasted on the ripe cherries which they picked from the trees along the road.

⁸⁹ Petersburg was nine miles southeast of Papertown, at the junction of the turnpikes to Baltimore and Gettysburg.

⁹⁰ Torrence must have been referring to Heidlersburg, which was four miles southwest of Petersburg, on the Gettysburg Pike.

⁹¹ The Regiment turned left, or west, at Heidlersburg and marched down a dirt road to Middletown, from which point they could move on Gettysburg, only seven miles away.

⁹² Iverson's Brigade crossed over to the Mummasburg Road which entered Gettysburg from the northwest. With their left flank near the road, the Twenty-third North Carolina Regiment marched into the slaughter in front of the stone wall.

⁹³ The few survivors of the Regiment were held out of the fighting after the decimation on July 1. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 238.

[July] 4th

Sharp shooting all day[.] Our Brigade was ordered to move to guard the Conf[ederate] wagon train[.]

LETTERS OF W. J. O'DANIEL TO TORRENCE'S MOTHER

Camp at Williamsport Maryland⁹⁴
July the 9th 1863

Mrs Torrence

I this eve take the present opportunity to drop you a few lines. Leonidas requested me to write when I left him. I would of wrote to you any how if he had not of said any thing about it. On the evening of the first of this month the fighting began at Gettysburg Penn. Our brigade was the first in it.⁹⁵ Our Company suffered dreadfully. Their was three killed dead on the field. Three that was mortily wounded that died shortly after the fight was over at that time. Two died before night and one in the night. Four were seriously wounded and ware still living when I left them on Saturday. Five others were wounded[,] some of them had verry bad flesh wounds the others light. I will give you the names of the men on the other side [of this page] and will give you the particulars as soon as I have a chance to write you again. Leoidous was alive when I left him but I think that he is not alive now. He was wounded in the head & thigh[.] His thigh was not broke but I could not tell what way the [shot] went. The ball in his head went in between his eye and ear. I think that it stopped some place near his brain. He came to his censis & told me that he was a going to die & gave me all his things

⁹⁴ The Confederate Army was on its way south and crossed the Potomac on July 10.

⁹⁵ Those members of the Regiment which were not killed in the first volley from behind the stone wall were pinned down in a hollow by Federal fire. Here, the North Carolinians sustained losses estimated at 134 men, including every commissioned officer except one. Many of the wounded were captured by the Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, along with the regimental colors. Only a timely counter-attack by Ramseur saved what was left of Iverson's Brigade. *Official Records*, XXVII, Part 1, 311; XXVII, Part 2, 332, 342; Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 570.

In notes added to his letters to Mrs. Torrence, O'Daniel described the company's losses. He listed three men killed, three who "Died on the Field," four "Ceriously wounded," five with "Flesh wounds," eleven men captured, and one man "Mortily wounded—L. Torrence." As for a summary of the battle, he concluded: "All that ware in the fight ware killed wounded & captured except the S[h]arp Shooters & ambulance Corps. . . . We have eight in our comp[any.] We have no officer, neither Commissioned or non commissioned[.] Four Lieut[enants] is all the officer[s] in the Regt[.]"

except his testament and his pocket handkerchief. He told me to give his things to you[.]

S. L. McClure had three balls Shot through his body & two through his left arm. His left arm was cut off above his elbow[.] H. M. Wallace had his wright wrist broke. His left arm was cut off. I think he will die[.] Sam Elor had his left thigh [hit and] it was cut off. I was shot in the left cheek with a buck shot. I have not left our little regt. I wanted to stay & wait on Lon & Sam but the Doc would not let me stay[.] I waited on them from [the time] they were wounded untill Saturday. They were wounded on Wednesday. The Doc left S. G. Freeman to wait on them. Lon could not eat any thing. He drank water but he throwed it all up. He said that he was willing to die. I will have to close as the Man that is a going to take the letters is going to start[.] Write as soon as you receiv this letter. The fight lasted four days. H. A. Torrence in the 28th Regt was killed. I will write again the first oportunity[.]

W. J. O Daniel

Mrs. Torrence

Camp near Bunkershill Va July the 20th 1863

Mrs. Torrence

I take my pen in hand to answer your letter that you wrote [to Leonidas] on the 6th of July. I am sorry that he was not her[e] to receive it. It hurts my feelings so that I hardly no what to write. I wrote you a letter as soon after the battle as I could have a chance to send one. As I gave you a statement of the killed and wounded in the other letter I will say nothing about any only Leonodous & McClure. Leonodous was shot between the Eye and ear and in the thigh. I think the ball that went in his head went near his brain. He did not know any thing for several hours. The ball in his thigh I think went into his body. This was the opinion of the Doctor.

L[eonidas] saw me when he came to his sencis. He was wounded on the first day of July. He could not eat any thing. He drank a great deal of water but he throwed it all up. I got him some milk but it would not ly on his stomick. When I went to tell him goodby he told me that I would never se him again. He said he was a going to die. He also said that he was willing to die. When he was shot he was lying in a hollow in a very mudy place. All that ware badly wounded and killed was shot in this same hollow. I was shot before the Regt [got] to this place[.] L[eonidas] and I went into battle side by side. We promised each other if one go[t] hurt to do all we could for him.

You doo not have any idea how bad that I hated to leav Lon. I asked the Doctor to let me stay with him but he would not. Lon gave me his testament pocket knife and pocket book to me and told me if he died to give them to you. He had \$76 dollars in paper money, \$1.33 in Silver. C. S. Freeman was left to wait on the boys of our Comp. I left his silver and some of his other money with Freeman. I will take care of his things untill I hear from them. If I should have to go in a battle, I will leav Lon[']s things with L. A. Ford or John Wilson when he gets back from Yankeedom. I will write to you as soon as our boys that was taken prisnors gets back. It may be that they will hear from the wounded of our men[.]

I am sorry to hear that their is another call for more men in N. Carolina. I dont think their is any their to spair. We kneed recruits here verry bad. Their is but 7 in our Company. Times are verry disheartening here at present. We have bad news from the west. I hope that Dock will be left at home. He will bee of more use to the Neighborhood at home than he will bee in the army. The reason I speak so is on account of his health. These few lines leaves me well with the exception of my cheek [for] it hurt[s] me some yet. I hope when these few lines reaches you they may find you all well. You said that Sarrah was not well. I hope she has got well. From

W. J. O. Daniel

Pleas Anser this.

Camp of 23rd N. C. Regt near Orange C. H. Va
August 10th 1863

Mrs Torrence

Your letter dated the 30th of July came to hand this eve. It found me well. Though verry lonesome. I have wrote you two letters since the Gettysburg fight. You wish to no if their was any Doctor left to wait on L[eonidas]. Their was one left to wait on the wounded of our Regt. The Doctor tole me that he could not do any thing for L[eonidas'] wound. The Doctor gave him medicen to make him rest. He did not appear to suffer a great deal. At times he would throw up and his bowels would get easy. He inclined to sleep the most of his time. The cittisens did not give the wounded any attention while I stayed. He could not eat any thing. I got him some milk, but he would throw it up evry time he would drink any of it. He was shot in the temple at the edge of the hair. It was a larg minney ball. The one in his thigh was the same kind. Their was a good many of the

wounded left in the hands of the enemy[.] I have not herd from any of the wounded since I left. I do not think that Leonodus could get well. He said himself that he could not get over it.

You wanted to no something about his bed strength. He had a good tent that John Wilson gave me for L. & McClure. They ware together in one tent. Leonodas had as good a bead as I could make out of blankets. He had severl blankets and a good oilcloth to ly on. He could not help himself but verry little. He was speechless for three or four hours. He maid sines for water when he wanted a drink. This is a mistake about Ted Fite seeing him fall on [the] field. Ted says that you have been wrongly informed. I supose that this is what it started from. Some time after the battle was over Ted went to L[eonidas] and spoke to him and he did not pay any attention to him. Ted then went after some water for the wounded & when he came back some person told him that L[eonidas] had been cawling him & he went to him the Seckond time and he still made him no answer. I have wrote about all that I can remember as it has been some time since the fight. Evry thing is quiet here now. I fear it will not remain so long. Look over all errors. So nothing more at present, but remains as ever

W. J. O Daniel

Mrs. Sarah A. Torrence

BOOK REVIEWS

Governor William Tryon, and his Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771. By Marshall De Lancey Haywood. (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell, Printer, 1903. Reproduced by Edwards and Broughton Company, Raleigh, 1958. Pp. 223. \$5.00.)

With the opening of Tryon Palace at New Bern in 1959, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, headed by Elizabeth Stevenson Ives, has rendered another valuable service by reissuing this 56-year-old sympathetic biography of one of North Carolina's most outstanding—and controversial—royal governors.

The author of this interesting and readable volume served successively as Assistant State Librarian, Librarian of North Carolina State College, and Librarian (later also Marshal) of the North Carolina Supreme Court. He died in 1933.

Although the book is more biographical and genealogical than historical in the broadest sense of that term, Mr. Haywood rendered a good service to scholarship. Prior to the publication of his book in 1903, it had been customary for writers to describe Tryon as the "hated minion of a tyrannical king," who had imposed extremely heavy taxes on the poor people to build a palatial, useless "Government House" in order to satisfy his vanity, and who, in 1771, had crushed a revolt of "liberty-loving Regulators" at Alamance, the "first battle of the American Revolution." Haywood's account of Tryon is much more in accord with the facts in the case than the picture which had hitherto been given of this picturesque colonial official. He also added much to our information concerning many of the colonial leaders. His narrative of the Regulation has much of interest and value.

The author begins with a discussion of the genealogy of Governor Tryon and then takes up the chief events of his administration. He tells of Tryon's tolerance in religion and of his advocacy of education, a postal system, and other things which would have improved the colony. He states clearly the views of the governor and of the planters and merchants of

the lower Cape Fear in regard to the Stamp Act, here and there digressing to give a biographical sketch of the chief leaders. The latter half of the book is devoted to the "War of the Regulation." Haywood accepted the John Spencer Bassett view that this uprising was not a revolution, but only a peasants' uprising; not a rebellion against the royal government, but against the local administration of finances and justice.

This 1903 publication has been reproduced by photographic process, without change. The only new features of this book are the frontispiece and an eight-page Appendix. The frontispiece is a beautiful picture of the restored Tryon Palace. In the Appendix are to be found pictures of Marshall De Lancey Haywood; the "Parlour of Tryon Palace"; the "Upstairs Supper Room"; "Mrs. Tryon's Dressing Room"; Mrs. Maude Moore Latham, donor of the restored Tryon Palace and First Chairman of Tryon Palace Commission; May Gordon Latham Kellenberger (Mrs. John A. Kellenberger), Chairman of Tryon Palace Commission since 1951; John A. Kellenberger, Finance Officer and Treasurer of the same Commission since 1951; and Ruth Coltrane Cannon (Mrs. Charles A. Cannon), Honorary President for Life of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities.

Hugh T. Lefler.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Vegetation of the Outer Banks of North Carolina. By Clair A. Brown. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp 179. Illustrations, catalogue, literature cited, and charts. \$3.00.)

For the botanist, forester, or interested citizen, the Outer Banks of North Carolina are intriguing and fascinating. Not only does the long coastline abound in the sites of historical events from the ill-fated first colony on Roanoke Island, but a study of the rapid and striking changes in vegetative cover

from the ocean shoreline to the sounds due to environmental conditions will reward even the amateur student.

The author of *Vegetation of the Outer Banks of North Carolina* includes a historical section which reviews the literature on the subject as far in the past as 1795 including botanical studies, historical distribution of the forests, and sand fixation and beach erosion work of 1936-1940. This latter was by the United States Park Service.

The second section describes five distinct habitats with lists of the flora by scientific and common names occurring in each of these habitats and a discussion of four geographical locations.

Other sections include a century of change at Cape Hatteras, salt spray injury, plant materials for sand binding, a catalogue of plants observed, and the literature cited.

For anyone who has studied the Outer Banks the publication should be of considerable interest. The illustrations are excellent and the list of literature cited in itself is of major importance for reference. Possibly a foreword outlining some of the fears of thinking North Carolinians on the future of the Outer Banks would have been of value to introduce the study. Rapid deterioration of some of the areas on the Outer Banks has caused considerable concern in the State. The possibility of re-occurring hurricanes breaking through the Outer Banks on wide fronts changing the salinity of the sounds and possibly allowing assaults on the mainland by waves and salt spray has been seriously discussed since Hurricane Hazel in 1954.

The title of the publication is, in part, somewhat misleading in that sand fixation and beach erosion with the description and fence types for artificial dune formation are described in some detail. Unless someone looked at the Table of Contents, this subject would not be apparent from the title.

Casual mention, at least, in this discussion should have been made of the preliminary work with sand fences on long stretches of Bodie Island by the Manteo CCC Camp under the general supervision of this reviewer in 1933-1935. The camp was subsequently moved to Hatteras.

This reviewer who initiated the project might quibble that the Adams tree plantations at Corolla were not treated in enough detail. Maritime pine (*Pinus pinaster*) has, in at least one instance, shown heavy mortality from *Ips* bark beetles while other adjacent species of pine were not affected, and this may limit the use of this pine. Other pine species not mentioned in the publication show considerable promise, particularly slash pine (*Pinus Elliottii* var. *Elliottii*).

Parts of this publication are not for the layman unless he has a good working knowledge of botany. Present and future plans for the protection of the Outer Banks are requiring and will require the expenditure of large sums from federal, State, and private sources. Those responsible should use this excellent monograph for guidance and reference.

F. H. Claridge.

Division of Forestry,
State Department of Conservation and Development,
Raleigh.

Andrew Jackson and North Carolina Politics (Volume 40 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science). By William S. Hoffmann. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. x, 134. \$2.50.)

This is a closely knit analysis of North Carolina politics from 1824 to 1837. With great patience and as a result of extensive research, the author traces the intrigues, maneuvers, and changes from the early factional and personal politics to the later well-defined two-party system of 1836.

In 1824, the author begins, nearly all factions in North Carolina supported Jackson. Nevertheless their common loyalty did not prevent their operation on a factional and personal basis, usually representing the alignment of two or more ambitious leaders, such as Spaight-Stokes and Caldwell-Alexander-Owen. Each faction claimed to speak for Jackson until John Branch in 1828 assumed the undisputed leadership for Jackson. After Branch's resignation from the Cabinet there was semblance of two parties in which the Clay forces united with Branch to challenge the Van Buren supporters.

Nullification, which never had many supporters in North Carolina, tended to disrupt this alignment.

Following the nullification conflict, Professor Hoffmann continues, the State leaders temporarily turned to State issues and displayed moderate indifference to such national issues as the recharter of the Bank in 1832. However, with the removal of the deposits and the rise of the instruction and distribution issues, the various factions opposing Jackson and Van Buren united to form the Whig Party in North Carolina. In 1834, the author holds, for the first time the people of the State cast their votes because of national issues rather than personalities and factions. This division also enabled the western part of the State to exert more influence and to gain a revision of the constitution.

By 1837, Mr. Hoffmann continues, the two parties were well organized and disciplined. They were about evenly divided in the State. The Whigs, however, usually won the elections because they supported the popular issue of distribution. The author concludes: "The Democrats were honest men who did little good; the Whigs were ambitious schemers whose politics would have been best for the country" (p.126). This is putting it a little too strong for the author's own story reveals that scheming was not confined to one party.

This study is a thorough piece of research. It clarifies the party confusion of the period. Although not a scintillating piece of writing it is a sound historical study.

Henry T. Shanks.

Birmingham Southern College,
Birmingham, Alabama.

The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee up to the First Settlements therein by the White People in the Year 1768. By John Haywood. Edited by Mary U. Rothrock. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1959. Pp. xxxii, 438. Illustrations and maps. \$20.00.)

Interrupting a noteworthy career at the bar and on the bench of North Carolina, John Haywood migrated in 1807 to Tennessee where he achieved a position of eminence in the

judicial history of that State. His active mind also sought outlet in extra-professional activities, the results of which were three books, all of which in the first edition are now exceedingly rare and fetch high prices. These were: *The Christian Advocate* (1819), a curious medley but displaying much learning, designed to prove the truth of prophecy and Christianity; *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* (1823); and *The Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (1823). The latter half of the first of these volumes was reworked into the second, while the second and third were companion volumes giving an account of the Tennessee country down to 1796.

The Natural and Aboriginal History, long out of print and almost impossible to obtain, is now reissued in attractive format and pleasing typography by the McCowat-Mercer Press of Jackson, Tennessee. It has been carefully edited and furnished with an introductory sketch of the author by Miss Mary U. Rothrock. Some of Haywood's eccentricities of spelling and punctuation have been corrected in the interest of readability, and running titles and an index have been supplied to make the subject content more readily available. Valuable annotations by Miss Madeline Kneburg, anthropologist at the University of Tennessee, provide archaeological information not available in Haywood's time, and geological notes by John Kellberg, Tennessee Valley Authority, place Haywood's geological observations and comments in present-day perspective.

Though Haywood's work is based upon geological and archaeological theories which are no longer accepted, many of his descriptions are as explicit and accurate as could be written at the time. Like his other books, this volume indicates his extensive reading and reveals his tireless powers of application. As Tennessee's first history, it will always be indispensable; but its unique and distinctive value lies in Haywood's close observation and his minute descriptions of the Tennessee of 1823, which with the passing years have grown increasingly valuable to natural scientists.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775. By W. W. Abbot. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. 198. \$5.00.)

From the arrival of its first royal governor in 1754 until the departure of its last one in 1776, Georgia had only three representatives of the Crown. Each made a contribution to the development of the colony.

John Reynolds, during his brief term, successfully initiated royal government. Except for this, however, Captain Reynolds was a failure, for he "never came down from the quarter-deck."

Henry Ellis, who succeeded Capt. Reynolds in 1757, was an unusual character. Interested in science and enormously curious, Ellis indulged in deductions and conclusions which were always logical, beautifully expressed, but usually wrong. His greatest skill was as a diplomat, with both colonists and Indians. He made friends with the Creeks, settled the Bosomworth affair, and kept the Assembly in line. Tiring of his work and of the climate, however, he asked to be relieved of his post in 1760.

James Wright governed Georgia from 1760 to 1776 and for two more years during the British occupation of Georgia. The story of his career is a successful one. The increase in population, growth of prosperity, pacification of the Indians, and weathering of the Stamp Act crisis, attest to his ability as an administrator and loyal servant of the Crown. As troubled times deepened, he pleaded first for adequate troops to maintain order; failing to receive them and recognizing that events had moved beyond their use, he urged constitutional changes by Parliament which would grant the colonists their desired right to levy their own taxes. When this plea likewise fell on deaf ears, he sadly watched the Liberty Boys organize an extra-legal government and seize sovereignty from the hands of the governor. Revolution arrived in Georgia on July 4, 1776, with the meeting of the Provincial Congress.

As the author aptly demonstrates, the history of Georgia sums up in twenty-five years the development of colonial America which in some cases covered a hundred and fifty years. Especially good are Mr. Abbot's introductory chapter

on "Material Progress and Political Revolution, 1754-1775," and his summary. He concludes, "If the royal governor helped sow the seeds of rebellion, it was not because he failed but because he succeeded too well."

The book is excellently written, with judicious interpretation and selection of details. It is a happy addition to the bibliography of the colonial period.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854. By Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959. University of Florida Monographs. No. 1. Pp. 73. \$2.00, paper.)

This is an excellent monograph. Doherty used newspaper files and census returns extensively. Apparently comparatively few manuscripts from Florida leaders were available. The author shows a thorough knowledge of the recent research of the period, although he generally cites Allan Nevins in a footnote when he summarizes major national developments. Doherty proves that there was at least a difference of degree in the parties of that era.

The book shows that during territorial days the Whigs were a "clique" dominated by the big landed interests and were characterized by "behind-the-scenes manipulation." They chartered banks for their own benefit, but failures tended to discredit the Whigs and their institutions. As Florida was becoming a State, David Levy Yulee led the Democrats to victory, won the single house seat, and then resigned to accept a Senate post. Edward C. Cabell, a young Whig politician, sought the vacated post and proved himself "the most skilled practical politician" in Florida. The Whigs shifted the issue from banking to the excess of Democratic partisanship. When Cabell won the house seat in 1846 the fortunes of the Whigs began to climb. In 1849 and 1850 they reached the height of their power promoting "safe and sane" programs of conservatism and moderation.

Doherty shows how the Florida Whigs led by Cabell and Governor Thomas Brown fought for Union and compromise, but the action of Whigs from other states who nominated Scott put them in an impossible position. The Democrats, shifting from a stand opposing compromise to one stating that their party was the only national party supporting the compromise, reaped the rewards.

More studies of this type need to be done.

William S. Hoffmann.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

The Confederacy: A Symphonic Outdoor Drama Based on the Life of General Robert E. Lee. By Paul Green. (New York: Samuel French. 1959. Pp. 123. \$1.50.)

This recently published play, now in its second season at Virginia Beach, is one of five outdoor historical dramas by Paul Green being produced this summer. Even without the music which enriches immeasurably the production of a symphonic drama, a reading of *The Confederacy* proves that it is of the high quality to be expected from Paul Green.

Except for an opening scene in Washington, the action takes place in Virginia—in Arlington, Richmond, the battlefields, the northern and southern camps, a field hospital—settings which promise a fairly trite situation. So do many of the characters—two northern lovers of two southern girls, two southern lovers of one northern girl, aristocratic matrons devoted to the Confederacy, faithful slaves—all of these suggest moonlight and magnolias. Yet the sentiment never quite sinks into sentimentality.

The pathetic moments in the play when lovers are parted by death, and the tense spectacular scenes as the tide of battle turns are relieved and emphasized by touches of humor. A suggestion of Falstaff is evident in the comic dismay of Buck MacIntosh—coon hunter and trapper who has come to help General Lee “sharpshoot at them Yankees”—when a bullet breaks the jug he is just lifting to his lips.

The romance, the pathos, the spectacle, the humor all serve as a background for the magnificent figure of Lee. We see the agony of conflicting loyalties which precedes his decision to resign his position as a colonel in the Army of the United States. We see the tender husband, the loving father, the general worshipped by his men. We see the military strategy which made him a foe to be feared—and admired.

As the grimly bitter struggle proceeds, Lee never loses the idealism which is the basis of his every attitude and action. The author pictures him in a conference with Davis, Stephens, and Benjamin in which the general towers above these three in statesmanship. Lee has freed his own slaves and urges that the Confederacy plan for the emancipation of all slaves, beginning with an offer to free all men who would volunteer to serve in the Confederate Army, which is in desperate need of recruits. When Benjamin objects that the plan is impractical, Lee answers in words which embody a universal truth.

So it is in men's history when they are challenged to some new and right course of action they cry out—impractical, impractical! And thus they remain in bondage to their prejudices. Gentlemen, nothing is more practical than doing one's duty. And it is our duty to do this.

The military task of the general is finished with the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. The beginning of the reconstructive work of the hero is shown in the last scene as Lee assumes the presidency of a small college. The future is bright with promise as he stands between the white columns on the portico of the college hall, Bible in hand, and speaks to the little gathering of students and citizens.

Let us put aside all hate and bitterness from our hearts. From this Good Book, from other good books, and from the wisdom of our fathers we shall learn the truth as it is written. And as we learn—and as we work, we shall the more certainly rebuild our country—righteous and strong. In the words of the lamented president, let us—bind up the nation's wounds, care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan—and do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace

among ourselves and with all nations. . . And now with lifted hearts let us turn to our duty!

Mary Lynch Johnson.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

A Life for the Confederacy as Recorded in the Pocket Diaries of Pvt. Robert A. Moore, Co. G., 17th Mississippi Regiment, Confederate Guards, Holly Springs, Mississippi. By Robert A. Moore. Edited by James W. Silver. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959. Pp. 132. \$4.00.)

The diary of Robert A. Moore begins on May 27, 1861, at Corinth, Mississippi, and ends on September 19, 1863, at Ringgold, Georgia. On September 20, 1863, Moore was killed at Chickamauga. Although a Mississippian Moore fought in Virginia under Longstreet until September, 1863. His regiment saw as much hard fighting as any in Lee's army. Moore's faithfully kept record is thin in its accounts of the numerous battles in which its author participated, but it is filled with valuable and entertaining incidents of the everyday life of the soldier.

Private Moore was a close observer of farm land, of the weather, and of southern ladies. A remarkably informed private, he constantly presents and comments upon military developments in other theaters. In the 1861 and early 1862 entries he remains emotionally detached. Following October, 1862, he developed spiritually and this development imparts a new tone to the work. The diary never becomes elegiac, however, for Moore was an unquestioning patriot and a personal optimist.

It is to be regretted that Moore's narrative is fractured. The section between March 17 and October, 1862, has been lost, thereby depriving the reader of Moore's account of the Seven Days and the Maryland campaign.

Editor Silver has enhanced the diary by a bountiful use of illustrations. Of particular value are the photographs of Moore's comrades and family. To satisfy those interested in the other individuals who made up the 17th Mississippi, an

Appendix has been added which gives their vital statistics and their fate. The editor has also provided ample content footnotes which make the obscure intelligible and which amplify some of Moore's laconic remarks.

For those interested in the lowest echelon of Lee's army Robert A. Moore's diary, with its beautiful simplicity of language, will be rewarding. For those interested in a man's development in the matrix of war this diary will have appeal.

Nathaniel C. Hughes, Jr.

Webb School,
Bell Buckle, Tennessee.

General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians. By Frank Cunningham. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company. Pp. xiv, 242. Foreword, illustrations, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

Here the two most fascinating subjects of American history—the Confederacy and the Indians—are combined in a single volume and the result can scarcely be other than happy.

Frank Cunningham tells with all its gusto, hard riding, triumph, and heartbreak, the story of Stand Watie's Cherokee Brigade that fought mightily in Missouri, Arkansas, and the present Oklahoma, under Generals Sterling Price, Thomas C. Hindman, Kirby Smith, and other commanders of the Trans-Mississippi Department, and when no superior officer was available, then pell mell and uncompromisingly on its own.

The author has filled an important need by bringing together for the first time the comprehensive story of these redskin warriors and the only Indian brigadier general of the Confederacy. They fit into the tradition of the chilvarous southern cavalry rather than the barbarities so often associated (by the side that did the reporting, at least) with earlier Indian warfare.

Many readers will be surprised to learn that the Cherokee who had been transported from the Southern Appalachians to Indian Territory little more than a generation before, had become slaveholders, owners of big plantations, exponents

of State rights and thorough southerners. Their magnanimity is attested by the manner in which they took up arms alongside their former Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia neighbors who had divested them of their patriarchal lands and sent them over the "trail of tears" into the West.

Some Cherokee sided with the Federals, to be sure, and in the southwest the struggle had all the aspects of a civil war. But the author tends to award greater dash and valor and the larger store of his own admiration to Watie's fleet Confederate horsemen. Here, as elsewhere, when obtaining a closer picture of the Indian character under stress, this reviewer finds his sentiments stirred by this great people who, when they had a cause, gave to it every jot of energy and devotion they possessed.

The author offers so much of interest and value that it would be ungenerous to ferret out flaws, but one or two present themselves so obviously they should be mentioned. The reader is seriously impeded by long, solid passages of direct quotes. A book that deals with a fresh field could stand annotation. The author might have mentioned in passing that Watie's were not the only Confederate Indians, since a detachment sprung from those Cherokee who had hid in the North Carolina coves and remained behind during the migration, served in Thomas's Legion in the Confederate Army.

Still, the book is decidedly on the plus side. By developing this obscure phase of the War Between the States, Dr. Cunningham has pointed to a means of observing profitably the approaching centennial. If writers, instead of applying a new coating of adjectives to the well known figures and campaigns of the war, will journey down the side aisles and cast more light into some of the neglected alcoves, the reader of American history will be indebted. Fresh lines of research like Cunningham's, will give more purpose to the centennial than sham battles or choice phrasing.

Glenn Tucker.

Filibuster Hill,
Route 1,
Flat Rock.

Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast! By Hans L. Trefousse.
(New York: Twayne Publishers. 1957. Pp. 365. \$5.00.)

The career of Benjamin Franklin Butler—successful lawyer, political demagogue, Republican and Democrat, delegate who stubbornly voted over fifty times for Jefferson Davis in the Charleston Democratic Convention of 1860, “apologist for slavery in 1860 who freed runaways by declaring them contraband in 1861,” Civil War political general, Reconstruction Radical leader, supporter of “pensions for disabled Confederate soldiers” in 1878, Governor of Massachusetts, humanitarian and reformer, and to the entire South and to many in the North and in Europe because of his actions in New Orleans a “hideous cross-eyed beast”—is one of the most fascinating, controversial, and little known men in American history. Remembered chiefly today for his “Woman Order” No. 28 of May 15, 1862, and his order No. 70 of June 5 of the same year ordering the execution of William B. Mumford, he probably inspired more genuine hatred during his lifetime than any other man in American public life.

Despite his actions as a vitriolic political demagogue, generally unsuccessful political general, positive and progressive actions as an humanitarian and reformer, he has been “denied immortality . . . by the very clamor arising out of the epoch-making events initiated by his own efforts.” Historian Trefousse has succeeded admirably in restoring “Old Cock-eye,” the “bottled curiosity of nature,” “the Great Fizzler,” the “patriot, hero, and statesman,” from historical limbo to his “rightful place in the drama of that troubled era.”

In twenty-one well-written and well-documented chapters, Trefousse sketches or reports in detail Butler’s long legal, political, and military career. Writing generally with detachment, he at times reveals (as do most persons even casually acquainted with Butler and his career) a sneaking admiration for the daring, flamboyant, and colorful Radical. The biography is a distant contribution to national historical literature.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge.

Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History.
Edited by James Morton Smith. (Chapel Hill: The University
of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 238. \$5.00.)

Between April 7 and 12, 1957, sixteen scholars participated in a series of working conferences on seventeenth-century colonial history. The symposium, sponsored by the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, was held in connection with the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement. Nine of the participants wrote papers which were read and discussed in Williamsburg. After revision in the light of this discussion these papers have now been published.

In a general introduction Editor Smith tells us that no attempt was made to cover the whole field, nor did the authors "formulate among themselves a coherent and mutually acceptable point of view on the events and meaning of the seventeenth century."

Oscar Handlin's contribution, "The Significance of the Seventeenth Century," was delivered as a public lecture. In it he shows that much of later American development was a direct outgrowth of seventeenth-century experience. "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians" by Wilcomb E. Washburn studies the various lines of reasoning expressed by the colonists who drove the Indian from his home. We see how suspicious the whites became of every friendly act of the Indian. Cases of Indian resistance to white advances occurring in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are cited, and Washburn brings his study to a conclusion with an account of the recent Indian Claims Commission Act which allows Indians to sue the United States for claims based on aboriginal Indian titles. In a related paper, Nancy Oestreich Lurie discusses "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization."

Mildred Campbell's contribution, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," is based in part on newly discovered lists of immigrants from Bristol and London. She concludes that the great majority of indentured immigrants were farmers or skilled workers and not laborers. Bernard Bailyn discusses "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia" and shows, among

other things, how the earliest leaders failed to maintain their position in the succeeding generation. The later great names in the colony, such as Bland, Burwell, Byrd, Carter, and so on, first appeared within ten years of 1655. While they had not adventured themselves to the colony earlier, they had had financial and political interest in Virginia. They did not arrive as complete strangers to the country, nor did they have to face a struggle for survival as did the earlier settlers.

In "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," William H. Seiler points out how necessity brought about increased secular responsibility in church affairs and how lay authority increased because of the scarcity of ministers. "The Church in New England Society" by Emil Oberholzer, Jr., deals with the Puritan experiment, and in this study the author points out a number of special topics which need careful investigation. The term "Puritanism" itself needs definition, he says. Philip S. Haffenden, in "The Anglican Church in Restoration Colonial Policy," suggests that it was not religious toleration so much as domestic upheaval which prevented Anglican domination in the American colonies. Often the colonies sought more help in establishing the Church than the home government was able or willing to give.

Finally, Richard S. Dunn surveys "Seventeenth-Century English Historians of America." In their writings he shows us "a growing sense of distinction between the colonial and his fellow Englishman at home." The contrast between the writings of Englishmen at home and those of the colonists is striking; to the English writer the colonies were mere offshoots of English economic and cultural life. The colonial writer, on the other hand, was quick to note differences and a "growing loyalty to localism" began to mark his work. There also was a difference to be seen in the writings of the New Englander and the Virginian. The former "wrote histories of Puritanism rather than histories of America," while the histories of the latter were "a reworking of the second and third chapters of the Book of Genesis."

Each of the contributors to this volume of essays is a trained historian and the essays themselves bear evidence of long and devoted research. Many new points are made, and

some interpretations of earlier writers are questioned in the light of new evidence. While the essays are well written and readable, the type is unusually small. Extensive documentation identifies sources used in the text and provides additional information in many cases. An adequate index brings together the persons and subjects discussed by the various writers, but the careful reader will be able to add a number of Carolina and Carolina-related references which do not appear in the index.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Department of Archives and History

General

Mr. Ralph Philip Hanes of Winston-Salem was appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges on August 25 to the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History. Mr. Hanes is Chairman of the Board of the Hanes Dye and Finishing Company, President of Central Parking, Inc., a member of the Board of Old Salem, Inc., and Chairman of the Board of the Public Library of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County. His term will expire March 31, 1963.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association held their annual joint summer regional meeting at Blue Ridge Assembly on July 24-25. Participating on the program in the order of their appearance were the following: Dr. Edwin S. Dougherty of Boone, Mrs. W. Burr Allen of Asheville, Dr. Edward W. Phifer of Morganton, Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone, Mr. Albert McLean of Asheville, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton of Raleigh.

The Committee on the Governor's Portrait, appointed several months ago, has recommended Mr. Albert K. Murray of New York for that purpose. Mr. Murray has accepted the commission and has come to Raleigh and has begun painting the portrait of Governor Luther H. Hodges. The Committee consists of the following members: Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, Chairman; Mr. H. Cloyd Philpott of Lexington; Mr. George P. Geoghegan, Mrs. Elizabeth House Hughey, and Mr. Charles Stanford, all of Raleigh.

Director's Office

On July 3 Dr. Christopher Crittenden lectured to the sixth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management sponsored jointly by Radcliffe College and the Department of History of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He addressed the Travel Council of North Carolina at Carolina Beach on July 15 on the historic sites of the State and discussed the possibility of arranging planned tours in-

cluding these sites throughout North Carolina. The Travel Council unanimously adopted a resolution commending the Department of Archives and History for its historic sites program and pledging “. . . full support to the bond issue for historical restoration in the election to be called by the Governor. . . .” On the evening of July 17, between acts of “The Lost Colony,” at the Waterside Theatre on Roanoke Island, a panel symposium was conducted on the subject, “What Happened to the Lost Colony?” Moderating was Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills; members of the panel were Professor David B. Quinn, a British historian who has done special research in the field of the beginnings of English colonization in America; Mr. William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library, who has made a study of the English background of the “Lost Colonists”; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden. The panel discussion was taped and recorded and a few days later it was telecast over Station WTAR-TV, Norfolk, Virginia.

On Saturday and Sunday, July 18-19, there were on exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum a large number of items relating to Dolley Madison which were located recently in Pennsylvania. These had been brought by a lawyer and an appraiser of an estate who were offering them for sale. The Dolley Madison Memorial Association held a meeting at the Museum on the afternoon of July 19 and made a contract of purchase for these articles. Included are items of clothing, paintings, the only known photographs of Dolley Madison (by Matthew Brady), manuscripts (many with the signatures of James Madison and other leading figures of the period), franked postal covers (a number containing the autograph of Dolley Madison), and many other relics. This collection will be a significant acquisition for Guilford County and the State of North Carolina.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

As a result of additional appropriations provided for by the 1959 General Assembly, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts has been reorganized into three sections: the Archives Administration Section, which will have physical charge of

the Archives and the processing of manuscripts and records transferred to the Archives (except county records); the State Records Section, formerly known as Records Management, which will continue to handle the inventorying, scheduling, storing, and microfilming of current and semi-current records of State agencies; and the new County Records Section, which will handle the processing of all local records transferred to the Archives, inventory, repair, and microfilm records in the courthouses, and give assistance to local officials in their records problems. Under the direction of the State Archivist, these sections will be headed by an Archivist III, Records Center Supervisor, and Public Records Examiner, respectively. In addition, a Newspaper Microfilming Program will be operated as a part of the Archives Administration Section.

New personnel in the Archives Administration Section are Miss Carole Foote, Stenographer II; Mr. Thomas G. Britt, Archivist II; Mr. Maurice S. Toler, Archivist I; Mr. Michael R. Machesko and Mr. James Ray Hocutt, Clerks II. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Bailey and Mr. Bobby Lee Horton, Clerks II, have been added to the State Records Section staff. The County Records Section consists of four persons transferred from other sections— Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson (ret.), Public Records Examiner; Mrs. Ruth H. Page, Archivist II; Mrs. Robert L. Phillips, Jr., and Mrs. Elizabeth J. Hilbourn, Archivists I; and six new employees: Mr. Charles K. Worsley and Mr. C. Douglas McCullough, Archivists I; Miss Delores Murray, Mrs. Lillie H. McCoy, and Mrs. Ermine B. Hampton, Clerks II; and Miss Patricia Brafford, Stenographer II.

For the Division of Archives and Manuscripts as a whole, the size of the staff was increased from 18 to 34 and the budget was increased from \$85,000 in 1958-1959 to \$210,000 in 1959-1960 and \$185,000 in 1960-1961.

Work has already begun in the Wake County Courthouse by Admiral Patterson and two Archivists. First, a complete inventory of all official records of the county was drawn up, to which were attached schedules approved by the Advisory Committee on County Records. Next, two Model "E" microfilm cameras were set up in the courthouse and those essential records selected for security copying are now being micro-

filmed. Permanent records in such condition that normal handling is damaging are being laminated and rebound by the Department. Two Clerks II are employed for this repair work. The remaining five employees in the section are assigned to processing county records already in the Archives or to be transferred to it. Currently records from Burke, Hertford, and Rowan counties are being processed.

Messrs. Britt and Machesko are assigned to the newspaper microfilming project which is intended to place on microfilm all available issues of North Carolina newspapers published through the Civil War. The first paper chosen for filming is the *Raleigh Register*, published from 1799 to 1886. It is hoped that positive microfilm copies of all known issues of this paper will be available for institutions and individuals before the end of the year. Other titles will be selected for filming with priority being given to those papers having (1) most value to researchers, (2) greatest need for security copying, and (3) most complete runs of issues. An effort will be made to locate missing issues of all titles, and to this end the Department solicits the assistance of individuals and institutions in determining the location of unknown issues.

In the State Records Section, plans were made for the conversion of the remainder of the stacks areas of the Records Center from a filing cabinet system to a system of shelving and corrugated boxes. The new system will facilitate the handling of records and result in more efficient utilization of space.

During the quarter ending June 30, a total of 967,747 images was microfilmed on 145 reels for ten State agencies. During the same time, 1,226 cubic feet of records were admitted to the Records Center and 1,056 cubic feet were removed. The records involved in this turnover were from seventeen different agencies.

Division of Historic Sites

On June 26 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, spoke on the historic sites program to the Fayetteville Kiwanis Club, and on July 3 he spoke to the West Raleigh Rotary Club on the same subject. On July 8 he visited

the site of Fort Butler at Murphy (a fort used in 1838 by Gen. Winfield Scott for collecting the Cherokee for the removal to Indian Territory) and met with a committee of local persons interested in restoring the fort to discuss prospects and plans. He and Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., represented the Department on July 13 at the inspection of the Aycock Birthplace and acceptance of the project from the contractor. Others attending were Mr. William C. Correll, representing the Department of Administration; Dr. David J. Rose, Chairman of the Aycock Memorial Commission; and Mr. Dan MacMillan and Mr. Mason Hicks, architects for the restoration. On July 29 he met with a Durham committee, including Mr. R. O. Everett and Dr. Lenox Baker, to discuss plans for restoring the Bennett House, where Gen. Joseph E. Johnston surrendered his Confederate Army to Gen. William T. Sherman on April 26, 1865. On August 13 Mr. Tarlton and Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Alamance Battleground, attended the annual picnic of the Alamance County War Mothers held at the Battleground. Both made brief talks about the Battleground project. Mr. Howard White, Chairman of the Historical Committee of the Burlington Chamber of Commerce, was master of ceremonies. On August 14 Mr. Tarlton attended the program dedicating the Restored Tatum Cabin at Boone where he spoke on preserving our historical heritage. Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone, Mrs. B. W. Stallings, and Dr. I. G. Greer, President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, were among others who appeared on the program. Mr. Tarlton spoke on August 24 to the Burlington Rotary Club on the "North Carolina Historic Sites Program."

The Aycock Birthplace buildings are now being furnished in the period of the 1860's, when Governor Charles B. Aycock was a boy, and the grounds are being developed. Sunday, November 1, will be the one hundredth anniversary of Aycock's birth and a program dedicating the restored birthplace is planned. Col. William T. Joyner of Raleigh will make the principal address and Governor Luther H. Hodges will cut the ribbons opening the restored site. The program is scheduled to begin at 2:30 P.M. Those present will have the

opportunity to see the restoration and refreshments will be served. A number of persons have made donations of furniture and other items. Among these donors are Mrs. Iva Aycock Darden, Mrs. Frank Peacock, Mr. Ben Aycock, and the family of the late Mrs. Wiley Aycock, all of Fremont, and Miss Flora Hooks of Wilson. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., is Historic Site Specialist for the Aycock Restoration. On June 16 Mr. Sawyer spoke on the project to the Goldsboro Rotary Club and on September 2 to the Fremont Garden Club.

At Town Creek Indian Mound Historic Site near Mt. Gilead a rich concentration of early Indian burials, with pottery and other remains, has recently been excavated. Archaeology further reveals that a round burial house, approximately thirty feet in diameter, sheltered the burials. It is planned to rebuild this house in replica and exhibit the original burials recently uncovered. Mr. David S. Phelps, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek, was recently elected Editor of *Southern Indian Studies*, scholarly publication of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, and *The Archaeological Society Newsletter*. Mr. Phelps recently completed a new brochure, *Town Creek Indian Mound*, which may be obtained by writing Box 1881, Raleigh.

At the Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site, Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, is in the process of digging one of the major house sites in the Colonial town—a house lived in by William Dry and later by other prominent citizens in pre-Revolutionary times. He reports finding many interesting artifacts of the period.

Plans and specifications for a Visitor Center-Museum for Alamance Battleground are being prepared by Cole and Jones, Raleigh architects. The building will have approximately 2,100 square feet of floor space and will house exhibit rooms, assembly space for visitors, and working space for personnel in charge of the project. It is expected that construction of the building will commence late this year. A well was drilled at the Battleground this summer providing water for visitors who may wish to picnic at the site. Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Site Specialist, has completed an illustrated

brochure, *Alamance Battleground State Historic Site*, which presents a brief history of this battle, fought on May 16, 1771. Copies of the brochure may be obtained by writing Box 1881, Raleigh.

Division of Museums

A new exhibit in the Hall of History was opened on July 9, displaying twenty-six oil paintings by Mary Lyde Hicks Williams which have been loaned by Mr. Virginius Williams, son of the artist. Mr. Williams spoke briefly to approximately 100 invited guests after which Mrs. Faison M. Hicks and Mrs. David I. Fort, both relatives of the artist, entertained at a coffee hour in the Portrait Gallery. The artist was well known as a portrait painter throughout the State. This collection depicts plantation scenes which were painted from life. Titles of the works displayed are Edith, Master of Culinary Arts with Aspic Salad, Julia Faison with Bouquet of Cotton, Showing Both Blossoms and Lint, Quilting Party, Picking Strawberries, The Laborer's Refreshment, Seeding and Carding Cotton, Gathering Broom Straw, Maggie, Milk Churning, Ironing Scene before a Log Fire, Preparing a Summer Vegetable Dinner, Catching Turpentine and Other Products, Mary Lyde Faison in Pensive Mood, Child Asleep in Lap of Nurse, Weighing Cotton, Woman with Collard Leaf to Cure Headache, Log Cabin Yard Scene, Corn Shucking in Solitude, Ernestine, Butler with Fruit Bowl, Pipe Smoking Man, Corn Shucking in the Moonlight, Cradle Nursing Scene, Cotton Picking, and Peacock Broom in a Table Scene. Also displayed on loan are a number of items used in the paintings representative of a by-gone era such as a peacock fan, a custard set, a luster pitcher, a caster set, and two miniatures.

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Education Curator for the Hall of History, and Mr. Carl F. Cannon, Jr., Researcher for the Historic Sites Division, attended a six-week Seminar for Historical Administrators from June 14 to July 24 in Williamsburg, Virginia. The course, sponsored jointly by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., was designed to train persons for more effective work in the fields of historical administration, museums, societies, houses,

and the like. Seventeen students from throughout the United States attended.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan accompanied Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, to the birthplace restoration on August 17 to inspect furnishings to be used in the Aycock house. On August 20 Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, and Mr. John D. Ellington visited Moores Creek National Military Park to study exhibit techniques.

Mrs. Jordan met with representatives of the State Department of Agriculture on August 12 to discuss plans for a "Hall of Fame" project to be sponsored by the agriculture group. She and Mr. Ben F. Williams of the State Art Museum are conducting a survey at the request of Governor Luther H. Hodges to list all of the paintings of the various State departments and agencies on and near Capitol Square, including the Governor's Mansion. When the survey is completed, recommendations will be made relative to the needs for restoration of the paintings.

To be completed by early fall is the Hall of History's Raleigh Room, which will contain exhibits pertaining to the founding and development of Raleigh as the Capital of North Carolina. Materials on display will include pieces of marble from the original Canova Statue of George Washington, an exhibit on Andrew Johnson, and a collection of photographs showing Raleigh at the present time and as it was some fifty years ago.

Miss Bobbie Sue Ridge and Mr. Samuel Perry Townsend have joined the staff of the Hall of History as Museum Curators I. Miss Ridge, from South Boston, Virginia, will assist in the educational program, and Mr. Townsend, of Raleigh, will work with exhibits.

Dr. David G. Mearns, an Assistant Librarian in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., came to Raleigh on August 21 to receive, on the library's behalf, tape-recordings of voices of some of the oldest people of North Carolina. Governor Luther H. Hodges; Mr. William S. Powell, Head of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and Dr. R. H. Dovenmuehle of the Duke Uni-

versity Regional Center for the Study of the Aging, Duke University, also received copies of the recordings and a set of color slides of the persons interviewed. Mrs. Joye E. Jordan and Mr. Norman Larson, both of the Hall of History, supervised the recordings which were made possible through a grant from the Allstate Insurance Company to the State Department of Archives and History. A special guest at the presentation ceremony was 99-year old Billy Lowery, a Pembroke Indian, who was one of the Tar Heels whose voices were recorded. Mr. Richard Walser, President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, accepted a cash gift for the Association from Mr. Nevin Rice, Regional Manager of Allstate. Dr. Crittenden acted as master of ceremonies.

Division of Publications

On May 13 Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, represented the Department at a meeting in Raleigh sponsored by the North Carolina State Library. The meeting was held to discuss inter-agency co-operation and the group attending accepted the following objectives:

1. To provide information about (a) the objectives of each agency, (b) the methods used to reach objectives in working with local clientele and in the in-service training of agency staff, and (c) the resources of each agency.
2. To develop a clearer understanding of the total needs and resources of the State.
3. To exchange information and ideas about mutual problems.
4. To make use of each other's resources and avoid unnecessary duplication of efforts.
5. To provide, where possible, co-operative programs for clientele.

It was decided that a handbook or guide to the resources and services of the various State agencies was an essential undertaking. A second meeting was held on June 10 to select a committee for the project and to work out further details for the directory of North Carolina agencies.

Miss Annie Doris Critcher of Oxford joined the staff of the Division of Publications on July 1 as a Typist-Clerk II. She attended East Carolina College and was formerly employed by the Granville County Welfare Department.

Colleges and Universities

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, announces the following new appointments: Dr. James Farnell as Acting Assistant Professor for 1959-1960; Mr. John K. Nelson, Ph.D. candidate at Northwestern University, as Instructor in History; and Dr. Gustavus Williamson of the Johns Hopkins University, as Research Associate in the study of Business History. He was formerly an Assistant Professor at the University of South Carolina and Amherst College.

Dr. Paul Murray, Head of the Social Studies Department at East Carolina College, announces the following appointees in history for the year 1959-1960; Dr. John C. Ellen, formerly teaching fellow at the University of South Carolina; Dr. Robert W. Williams, Jr., who taught last at Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas; Dr. Horton W. Emerson, formerly of Piedmont College, Demorest, Georgia; and Dr. Albert L. Diket, who taught last at Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Texas.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, Head of the Department of Social Sciences at Western Carolina College, announces the appointment of Mr. Harold L. Bell, who recently received his M.A. degree from Vanderbilt University, as Instructor in History.

Dr. Lillian P. Wallace, Head of the Department of History at Meredith College, attended a course on the Far East at Duke University during the summer on a grant-in-aid from the College. Dr. Wallace is co-editor with Dr. William C. Askew of *Power, Public Opinion, and Diplomacy: Essays in Honor of Eber Malcolm Carroll*, which was recently released by Duke University Press. Her essay in the book was "Pius

IX and Lord Palmerston, 1846-1849." Dr. Alice B. Keith studied southern literature, 1900-1950, during the summer at the University of North Carolina on a grant-in-aid from the College.

Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Dean of Elon College, was guest speaker on May 14 at the meeting in Boone of the Appalachian State Teachers College Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, National Social Science Honor Society. He also attended the thirteenth national convention of Pi Gamma Mu in Denver, Colorado, June 20-21, and participated there in a panel discussion on the Society's activities throughout the nation. Dr. Cunningham is Vice-Chancellor of the Atlantic Region of the Society. On July 24 he gave the graduation address at Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Texas, to 618 officers in the Army Medical Service School, Brooke Army Medical Center.

County and Local Groups

Mr. George Ross of Jackson Springs, President of the Moore County Historical Association, was the principal speaker at a special dinner meeting of the Harnett County Historical Society on June 23. The group met on the Campbell College Campus with Dr. Leslie H. Campbell, President of the Harnett Society, presiding. Mr. Henderson Steele, Editor of the *Harnett County News*, introduced the speaker. Other persons who were on the program included Mr. Malcolm Fowler and Mr. J. Shepard Bryan, who gave memorial tributes to Leon McDonald and I. R. Williams.

Miss Lois Byrd, Associate Secretary, introduced officers and guests, and Mrs. J. W. Thornton read in tribute the roster of recently deceased members. The president announced that the Society would attempt to secure 1,000 members during a fall campaign. The Harnett Society has more than 500 members at present.

The first *Annual Report of Perquimans County Historical Society, June, 1958-1959*, has been published and distributed. It contains a list of officers, with Capt. Nathaniel Fulford as President; the final reports of various committees; the plans

and objectives of the Society in the future; excerpts from letters of two descendants of George Durant; and a roster of the 156 members of the historical group. A treasurer's report and a picture of a painting of Eagle Tavern, Hertford, complete the booklet.

The summer meeting of the Rockingham County Historical Society was held on June 26 in the Community Center near Wentworth. Mr. Lawrence Watt, Secretary, gave an informal talk on "Some Materials for our County History."

The fifth annual Early American Moravian Music Festival with Dr. Thor Johnson as Music Director was held June 22 through June 28 at Salem College, Winston-Salem. Four of the five concerts particularly honored the following persons: James A. Gray (1889-1952) and Pauline Bahnson Gray (1891-1955); Dorothy Fry Honeycutt (1890-1958); H. A. Shirley (1865-1928); and Dr. Bernard J. Pfohl (1866-). In addition to the five free concerts, fourteen tuition seminars were held, and Columbia Records, Inc., recorded much of the music presented.

Chapter Five of "The Roanoke-Chowan Story" which is being published serially in *The Daily Roanoke-Chowan News*, has been received by the Department. This chapter deals with the Chowanoke Indian Nation and is illustrated with facsimile drawings after those of John White.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, official organ of The Gaston County Historical Society, for July, 1959, included the first of a series of articles on old homes in Gaston County. The Jesse Holland home in Dallas built in 1848 is featured in this issue. Other items are an article on cemetery records, a continuation of the article on how Gaston County got its name, a complete listing of the membership of the Society, a notice on the availability of *The Genealogy of Peter Hoyle and His Descendants*, and an article on the diary of Jim Parker of Black Mountain. Mr. Percy H. Roberts of Mount Holly was principal speaker on the program of the Gaston Society which met on June 6 in Belmont.

The fourth annual Grandfather Mountain Games and Gathering of the Scottish Clans was held on July 12 at MacRae Meadows near Linville. On July 11 a "Ceilidh," or community party, was held at Eseeola Lodge in Linville with exhibitions of both Highland dancing and Scottish country dancing. Music was presented by visiting bagpipers. Traditional songs and "music hall" songs were sung by the group attending. Mr. Hughston McBain of Chicago, the MacBean of MacBean (World Chief of the Clan MacBean), was guest of honor. Worship service was conducted by Mr. Hubert L. Black of Fayetteville, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Miss Marilyn Zschau of Raleigh was soloist. Mr. Norman Cordon served as Director of Music; Mr. Donald MacDonald, Toshachdeor of the Clan Donald Society, Carolinas Branch, served as President of Games; and Mr. Charlie "Choo Choo" Justice served as Honorary Chairman of Athletic Events. Prizes were awarded winners in Highland dancing, including a special medal, the Flora MacDonald Gold Award; in piping, for both professionals and amateurs; and in athletics in track and field events. This annual event is sponsored by a number of Scottish Clans in America, the North Carolina Folklore Society, and the St. Andrew's Societies of Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga.

The quarterly meeting and the fourth annual watermelon-cutting of the Carteret County Historical Society was held on July 25 at the Ennett Cottage, Cedar Point, with Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President, presiding. Mr. M. L. Simmons of Newport, owner of a rare Bible known as the "Breeches Bible," offered the book for exhibition when a suitable display space could be arranged.

Mrs. John S. Gibson of Cedar Point presented a paper on White Oak township, the largest in Carteret County with the least population per square mile. White Oak township has two points of interest, according to Mrs. Gibson—the Hadnot Creek Primitive Baptist Church, the oldest church in the county, and the Jabez Weeks Memorial, claimed to be the only memorial in the United States erected to a pine tree.

Mr. Van Potter, Miss Amy Muse, and Mrs. D. F. Merrill were appointed a nominating committee to present a slate of

officers to be voted on at the October meeting. Forty-five members and guests attended this meeting, which marked the end of the fifth year of the society.

The Pitt County Historical Society met on July 30 at the Woman's Club in Greenville. Miss Venetia Cox, a native of Greenville, spoke to the group on her work in educational missions for the Protestant Episcopal Church in China. She served 33 years as a missionary before accepting an invitation to establish a school program in Hong Kong in 1956. Mr. J. L. Jackson of Raleigh, octogenarian charter member of the group, spoke at the meeting and Judge Dink James talked briefly on Governor Thomas J. Jarvis' contributions to education. Miss Tabitha DeVisconti, Secretary, presented a froe to the Sheppard Memorial Library for its historical museum section. Mr. James W. Butler and Dr. J. D. Messick are new members, bringing the total to more than 100. The group also discussed plans for the bicentennial celebration of the founding of Pitt County.

Miscellaneous

Dr. Karl S. Betts, Executive Director of the Civil War Centennial Commission, announces a nationwide search for descendants of the original winner of the Medal of Honor, first decoration formally authorized by the American Government. Two of the initial winners were North Carolinians—William J. Franks, Seaman; and James Stoddard, Seaman. Tribute will be paid the memory of the recipients in a special commemorative ceremony at the Washington Cathedral at some date, yet unannounced, during the centennial years. Persons are requested to search attics and trunks as well as family collections to establish evidence of connection with a recipient. Descendants will be invited to participate in the commemorative program. If possible the medals uncovered in the search will be displayed at the Cathedral. The Commission address is 700 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.

The Department has received copies of two styles of *Burton's Genealogical Wheel* from Mrs. J. M. Jones of Edenton. The charts are designed for use in recording ten direct generations of a family's lineage, covering a period of more than three hundred years. There is ample space for names, births, marriages, deaths, and other data. A price list may be obtained from Burton's Genealogical Wheel, Box 43, Edenton.

The Loyola University History Department has established an annual National Master's Essay Competition, the William P. Lyons Award, beginning with the academic year 1959-1960.

A committee of scholars will judge these essays submitted in manuscript form from those who have merited M.A. degrees in history during 1959-1960. With the co-operation of the Loyola University Press, the department will publish the selected essay as a contribution to the study of the master's essay in American universities. The closing date for submission of manuscripts is July 15, 1960. For full details write Dr. Edward T. Gargan, Department of History, Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Illinois.

Mr. Bowman Gray, President of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, announces that Dr. Nannie Mae Tilley has accepted an invitation to undertake the preparation of a history of the 84-year-old Reynolds Company. She is the author of *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929*, and will come to Winston-Salem on September 1 from Del Mar College, Corpus Christi, Texas, where she has been a member of the Department of History. For eight years she was Head of the Department of History of East Texas State College, Commerce.

Books received for review during the quarter are: Paul Green, *The Confederacy: A Symphonic Outdoor Drama Based on the Life of General Robert E. Lee* (New York: Samuel French, 1959); Manly Wade Wellman, *They Took Their Stand: The Founders of the Confederacy* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959); H. F. Seawell, Jr., *Sir Walter: The Earl of Chatham, or Call Your Next Case* (Charlotte: Heri-

tage House, 1959); Rufus Cole, *Human History: The Seventeenth Century and the Stuart Family* (Freeport, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company, two volumes, 1959); Edwin Adams Davis, *Louisiana: The Pelican State* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); Louis D. Rubin (ed.), *Teach the Freeman: The Correspondence of Rutherford B. Hayes and the Slater Fund for Negro Education, 1881-1887* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); Nora M. Davis, *Military and Naval Operations in South Carolina, 1860-1865: A Chronological List, with References to Sources of Further Information* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department for the South Carolina Confederate War Centennial Commission, 1959); E. Merton Coulter (ed.), *The Journal of William Stephens, 1743-1745, Volume II* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number Three, 1959); Edmund S. Morgan (ed.), *Prologue to Revolution: Sources and Documents on the Stamp Act Crisis, 1764-1766* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1959); Willam N. Norman, *A Portion of My Life, Being a Short and Imperfect History Written While a Prisoner of War on Johnson's Island, 1864* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1959); Anna Dozier Elmore, *A Journey from South Carolina to Connecticut in the Year 1809: The Journal of William D. Martin* (Charlotte: Heritage House, 1959); Nathaniel C. Hale, *Pelts and Palisades: The Story of Fur and the Rivalry for Pelts in Early America* (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1959); and Lillian Parker Wallace and William C. Askew, *Power, Public Opinion and Diplomacy: Essays in Honor of Eber Malcolm Carroll [By His Former Students]* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1959).